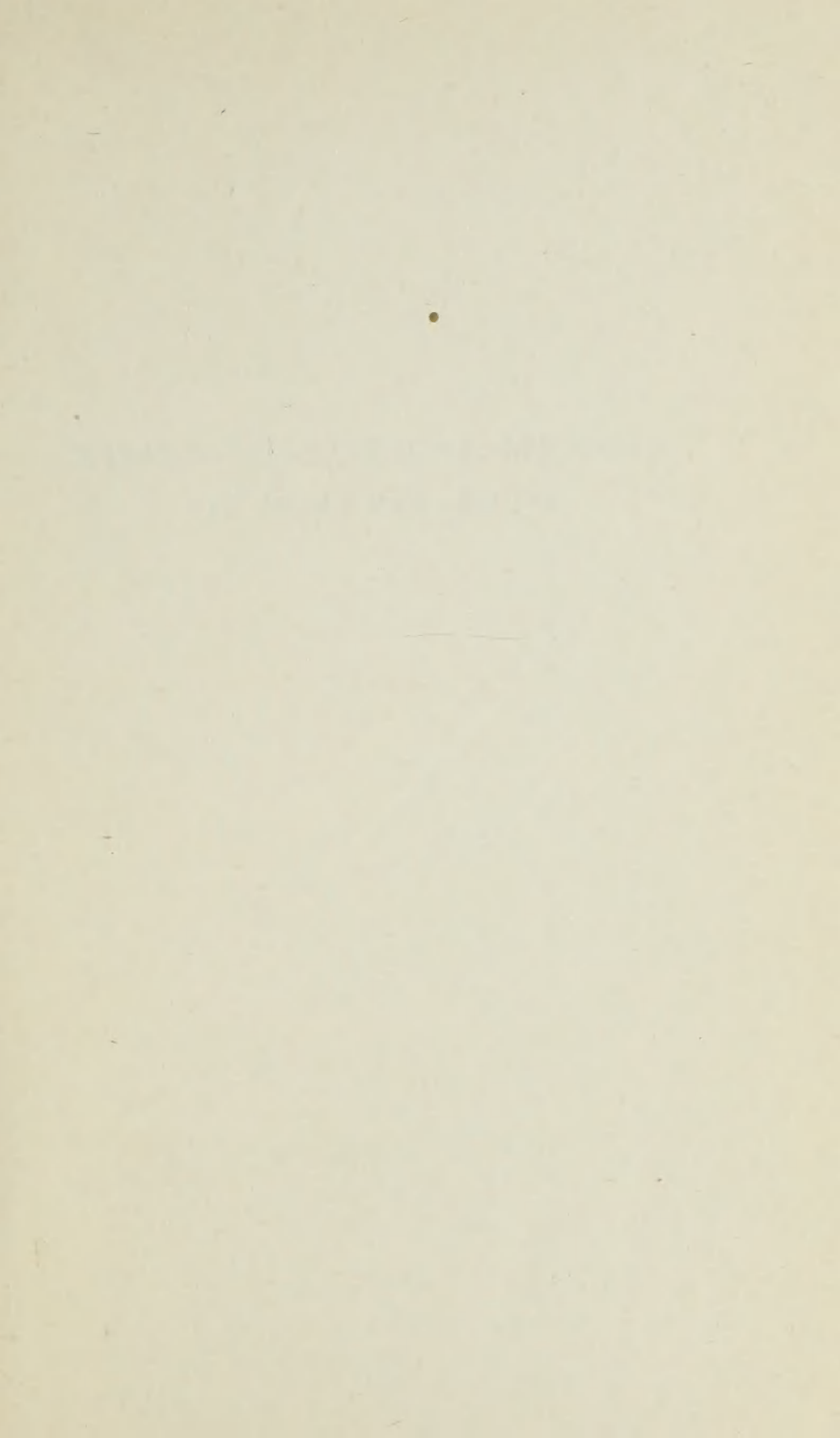


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KINO'S HISTORICAL MEMOIR
OF PIMERIA ALTA

PASSAGE PAR TERRE A LA CALIFORNIE

Decouvert par le Rev. Pere
Eusebe-François Kino Jesuite
Depuis 1698 jusqu'à 1701

ou l'on voit encore les Nouvelles
Missions des PP. de la Compagnie de Jesus

Scale 1:100,000



EARLIEST PRINT OF KINO'S MAP OF PIMERIA ALTA, 1705

KINO'S HISTORICAL MEMOIR OF PIMERIA ALTA

A CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNT OF THE BEGINNINGS OF
CALIFORNIA, SONORA, AND ARIZONA, BY

FATHER EUSEBIO FRANCISCO KINO, S.J.
PIONEER MISSIONARY EXPLORER, CARTOGRAPHER AND RANCHMAN

1683-1711

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT IN THE
ARCHIVES OF MEXICO, TRANSLATED INTO
ENGLISH, EDITED, AND ANNOTATED, BY

HERBERT EUGENE BOLTON, Ph.D.

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^c This figure records Kino's final conclusion regarding the latitude of the head of the Gulf. The text, written several years earlier, reads "thirty-five degrees."

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* The manuscript contains a heading, just preceding this, for which there is no corresponding chapter in the text. It reads "Chapter VI. Many others think it very desirable that I go to Mexico to obtain fathers." It has been omitted by the editor and the numbering adjusted to that of the text.

ILLUSTRATIONS

EARLIEST PRINT OF KINO'S MAP OF PIMERIA ALTA,

1705 *Frontispiece*

Two prints of the famous map, evidently from the same plate, appeared in the same year. One was in the *Mémoire de Trévoux* (May, 1705), p. 746, from which the print shown here is copied, and the other in *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses* (V. Recueil, authorized January 17, 1705). The Spanish original of the map has never been printed. The assertion frequently made that Kino's map was published in 1701 is an error.

PLAN OF THE SETTLEMENT AT SAN BRUNO, 1683 facing page 40

Drawn by Father Kino and hitherto unpublished. Transmitted by the viceroy, March 26, 1685. A. G. I. 1-1-3/21. Torres Lanzas, No. 77.

MAP OF THE PART OF LOWER CALIFORNIA WHERE ATONDO AND KINO LABORED, 1683-1685 49

Drawn by Father Kino, 1683. Transmitted to the King by the Viceroy, March 26, 1685, A. G. I. 1-1-3/21. Original 38 x 54 centimeters. Torres Lanzas, No. 76.

A LATER VERSION OF KINO'S MAP OF PIMERIA ALTA . 331

Hitherto unpublished. A.G.I., 67-3-39. Original 33 x 40 centimeters. Torres Lanzas, No. 95; Lowery, p. 215. Certain data on the map shows it to be a middle or later 18th century reproduction.

PREFACE

In publishing this great memoir left by Father Kino I am carrying out, after two centuries, a hope expressed in 1705 by Father Tamburini, Father General of the Society of Jesus. Thanking Kino for his heroic work, to the humble missionary in the wilds of the Pacific Slope the dignitary wrote:

I heartily rejoice that your Reverence may continue your treatise on those missions entitled *Celestial Favors*, the first part of which you sent us here. I hope to receive the other two parts which your Reverence promises, and that they may all be approved in Mexico, in order that they may be published.

The hope was justified by the merit of the work. Indeed, the rediscovery and the publication of this long lost manuscript, whose very existence has been disputed, puts on a new basis the early history of a large part of our Southwest.

The problem of the biographer of Father Kino will be to tell much in little, so many and long continued were his activities. He was great not only as missionary and church builder, but also as explorer and ranchman. By Kino or directly under his supervision missions were founded on both sides of the Sonora-Arizona boundary, on the Magdalena, Altar, Sonóita, and Santa Cruz Rivers. The occupation of California by the Jesuits was the direct result of Kino's former residence there and of his persistent efforts in its behalf, for it was from Kino that Salvatierra, founder of the permanent California missions, got his inspiration for that work.

To Kino is due the credit for first traversing in detail and accurately mapping the whole of Pimería Alta, the name then applied to southern Arizona and northern Sonora. Considered quantitatively alone, his work of exploration was astounding. During his twenty-four years of residence at the mission of Dolores, between 1687 and 1711, he made more than fifty journeys inland, an average of more than two per year. These journeys varied from a hundred to nearly a thousand miles in length. They were all made either on foot or on horseback, chiefly the latter. In the course of them he crossed and recrossed repeatedly and at varying angles all of the two hundred miles of country between the Magdalena and the Gila and the two hundred and fifty miles between the San Pedro and the Colorado. When he first opened them nearly all his trails were either absolutely untrod by civilized man or had been altogether forgotten. They were made through countries inhabited by unknown tribes who might but fortunately did not offer him personal violence, though they sometimes proved too threatening for the nerve of his companions. One of his routes was over a forbidding, waterless waste, which has since become the graveyard of scores of travelers who have died of thirst because they lacked Father Kino's pioneering skill. I refer to the Camino del Diablo, or Devil's Highway, from Sonóita to the Gila. In the prosecution of these journeys Kino's energy and hardihood were almost beyond belief.

All the foregoing was the work of a man of action, and it was worthy work well done. But Kino also found time to write. Historians have long known and had access to a diary, three "relations," two or three letters, and a famous map, all by Kino, and all important for

the history of the region where he worked. His map published in 1705 was the first of Pimería based on actual exploration, and for nearly a century and a half was the principal map of the region in existence. And there has now come to light, discovered by the present writer in the archives of Mexico, this vastly more important work—a complete history, written by Kino himself at his little mission of Dolores, covering nearly his whole career in America. It was known to and used by the early Jesuit historians, but has lain forgotten ever since. It is now found to be the source of practically all that has been known of the work of Kino and his companions, and to contain much that never has been known before. Kino, therefore, was not only the first great missionary, ranchman, explorer, and geographer of Pimería Alta, but his book was the first and will be for all time the principal history of his region during his quarter century.

The original of the manuscript here published was discovered by the editor some eleven years ago, after it had suffered a century and a half of oblivion. It was found in the Archivo General y Público, at Mexico City, where it comprises nearly the whole of volume 27, *Sección de Misiones*. The original contains four hundred and thirty-three small folio pages of text and a fourteen page table of contents. There is no doubt of its authenticity, for it bears three signatures of Father Kino, which correspond to those in original letters signed by him. More convincing still, it bears certain peculiarities of Father Kino's orthography, the result of his early education, which can not be mistaken.

The manuscript was written at different times over a long period of years, and consequently the handwriting

changes. The Prologue and Part I are written in uniform ink and hand, which are the same as those of Father Kino's original diary of 1698, also discovered by the writer. Part II to page 214 is written in paler ink, with a coarser pen, and in a slightly different style of hand, which is clearly Father Kino's, nevertheless. From page 215 to page 264 the ink is darker, the hand finer, and more like that of Part I. The corrections in Part I are in the ink and hand of the early portion of Part II, which indicates that when Father Kino wrote Part II he revised Part I. Pages 265-338 are written in two different hands, clearly not Father Kino's, but bear corrections in Kino's hand. The remainder of the manuscript, from page 339 to the end, including the *Indice*, is again in Father Kino's handwriting.

Great care has been taken to secure a faithful copy of Kino's original manuscript, the making of the transcript being personally supervised by the editor himself and Dr. William Edward Dunn.

In preparing the manuscript for publication, effort has been made to apply the best rules of critical scholarship. Some liberties, perforce, have been taken. The paragraphing of the original has been retained in most cases, but in a few instances this was impracticable. The placing of the chapter headings, in which there was varied practice in the original, has been unified. Liberties dictated by the requirements of printing have been taken in the matter of placing the marginal headings. The numerous underscorings of words and passages in the original have been disregarded, since it is not certain by whom or under what circumstances they were inserted, and since the omission in no wise affects the meaning of the text. The original has been followed in the matter of accents and in the spelling of

proper names, but capitalization and punctuation have been modernized. The peculiarities of spelling and the corruptions in Kino's Latin quotations have been retained.

The making of the translation has not been the smallest part of the editorial work. Indeed, "mere translation" is lightly regarded only by those who have never seriously tried it. Great care has been taken to make the English version both accurate and readable, an end not always easy of attainment. The translation was made jointly by Miss Elizabeth Howard West and the editor. A preliminary translation of the larger portion of the manuscript was first made by Miss West. With this draft as a base the editor has worked over the entire manuscript numerous times, and is responsible for the final form.

The Introduction is not intended as an exhaustive biography of Father Kino, but rather as a preparation for the reading of Kino's personal memoir, which follows. It falls into three fairly distinct parts. The early pages are based largely on new materials other than those here published, and may be regarded as a contribution to knowledge, since they for the first time make known the circumstances of Kino's coming to America, and follow his movements, largely unknown hitherto, from that time to his advent in Pimería Alta. From that point Kino's own memoir gives his career in detail, and in consequence the second part of the Introduction becomes an interpretation rather than a chronological narrative of the great missionary's principal life-work. The third portion is a bibliographical exposition and evaluation of Kino's memoir. The footnotes, besides providing the necessary aids for the student and giving supplementary information, call at-

tention to frequent errors and gaps in the older and the standard modern histories which the publication of *Favores Celestiales* now enables us to correct or supply.

The preparation of this work for publication has been under way for some ten years. Meanwhile pressing duties have intervened and new material has been uncovered. It was planned to publish the original Spanish, but owing to uncertainties caused by the Great War, the publishers have deemed this inadvisable. The editor has gathered material for another volume or more of letters and diaries by Kino, which he hopes to publish later, if the interest in and support for the present volumes make such publication possible.

The editor's obligations for assistance are many and deep. The aid rendered by Dr. W. E. Dunn and Miss Elizabeth Howard West has already been mentioned. Dr. Charles Wilson Hackett has given extensive and most valued editorial assistance. The Reverend Father D. J. Kavanagh, S.J. of St. Ignatius College, San Francisco, has revised the translation of the scriptural passages. The Reverend Father Thomas Lantry O'Neill, of Newman Hall, Berkeley, has assisted in many matters relating to Catholic practices. The Reverend Father Th. Pockstaller, S.J., has read all of the proofs, prepared most of the index, and given valuable criticism at many points. Dr. Charles H. Cunningham gave important aid in obtaining materials from the Archives of the Indies. Professors Herbert I. Priestley and Charles E. Chapman have given frequent counsel. The personal interest in the work manifested by His Grace, the Most Reverend Edward J. Hanna, Archbishop of San Francisco, has been a constant source of inspiration.

INTRODUCTION

One of the anomalies of historical study just now is the fact that the oldest fields are the newest. Ancient history, once thought to be an exhausted topic, is at present offering the freshest materials and the liveliest interests. Similarly, in the United States, the Southwest, once the best known and then an almost forgotten portion, is now the subject of a "revival of learning." This section was not only known, but books were written about it in the sixteenth century.¹ New Mexico boasts a history in the form of an epic poem, filling a volume, and printed in 1610.² Several eighteenth century works dealt largely with New Mexico, Arizona, and California. And yet the serious study of the history and of the bibliography of historical writings relating to this region is still in its infancy.

Only with extreme difficulty can we of the twentieth century comprehend the spirit which inspired the first pioneers of the Southwest. We can understand why man should struggle to conquer the wilderness for the wealth which it will yield, but almost incomprehensible to most of us is the sixteenth century ideal which brought to this region its first agents of civilization—the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries. These men came single minded, imbued with zeal for the saving of souls. Most of them were men of liberal education.

¹ For example, Cabeza de Vaca's *Naufraios*, of which an edition appeared at Zamora in 1542 and another at Valladolid in 1555.

² Reference is made to Villagrà's *Historia de la Nueva Mexico* (Alcalá, 1610).

Many of them were of prominent families, and might have occupied positions of honor and distinction in Europe.

KINO COMES TO AMERICA

Peer of any of these noble spirited men was Father Kino, Apostle to the Pimas. Eusebio Francisco Kino, as he wrote his name, was born in the Valley of Nonsburg, near Trent, in the Austrian Province of Tyrol, on August 10, 1644. It is an interesting coincidence that his birth was in the same year that his intimate friend, disciple, and fellow worker, Juan María Salvatierra, was born at Milan.³ It has generally been assumed that Kino's name was originally Kühn, but German scholars themselves claim otherwise. Sommervogel, whose *Bibliothèque* has the nature of an official publication, asserts that the name was Chino, as was affirmed to Father Melandri in 1870 by a member of the Chino family. This view is borne out by several contemporary letters published in German in Stöcklein's *Neue Welt-Bott*, where the name is given as Chinus and Chino. While in New Spain the Jesuit himself usually wrote his name Kino, and Spaniards sometimes spelled it Quino,⁴ to preserve the hard sound of the *ch*, no doubt.

In point of nationality Kino is typical of a large class of the early Jesuit missionaries in Arizona, Sonora, and California. That is, although he was in the service of Spain, he was non-Spanish by blood and breeding. Among Kino's companions and successors, for example,

³ Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jesus, première partie*, vol. iv, 1044; Clavigero, *Historia de la Baja California*, 39; Beristáin, *Biblioteca Hispano-Americana*, 1819. Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas* (vol. i, 250, footnote), inexactly gives the date as "about 1640."

⁴ Sommervogel, *ibid.*, vol. iv, 1044; Stöcklein, *Der Neue Welt-Bott mit allerhand Nachrichten dero Missionariorum Soc. Jesu, erster band* (Augsburg and Grätz, 1726).

we find Steiger, Keler, Sedelmayr, and Grashofer, whose names disclose their German origin; Goñi, Salvatierra, Picolo, and Ripaldini, bearing in their names the marks of their Italian extraction; and Januske and Lostinski, whose surnames stamp them as Bohemians.

Though his name was Italian in form, Kino's birth, education, and early associations were altogether German. His early education was acquired at Ala, in Tyrol, and later he studied in the universities of Ingolstadt and Freiburg. One of his teachers at the latter place whose instruction was long remembered and treasured was Father Adam Aygentler, author of a world map. Another of his instructors was Father Henry Scherer, author of the *Hierarchial Geography*⁵ published at Munich in 1703, in which some of Kino's writings on California were incorporated.

The primary facts of Kino's entry into the Company of Jesus are set forth in the following extract from the original manuscript *Libro de Profesiones* of the Province of Mexico: "Native of Trent, born August 10, 1644; entered the Company in the Novitiate of Lansperga [Landsberg], of the Province of Upper Germany, Nov. 20, 1665; he made his vows; he finished his studies, made his third probation, and has taught grammar three years."⁶

Had he chosen to do so Kino might have enjoyed an honorable position, and perhaps even won fame in Europe, for during his student career at Freiburg and

⁵ Scherer, P. Henrico. *Geographia Hierarchica sive Status Ecclesiastici Romano-Catholici per Orbem Universum Distributi Succincta Descriptio Historico-Geographica. Authore P. Henrico Scherer, Societatis Jesu. Sumptibus Joannis Caspari Bencard, Bibliopolae Academiae Dilinganae. Monachii, Typis Mariæ Magdalenaë Rauchin, Viduæ. Anno MDCCIII. 4° pp. 8 n.n. 257, ind. di pp. 11, n.n. con antiporta.*

⁶ Beristáin, *Biblioteca Hispano Americana Septentrional, Adiciones y Correcciones* (1898), 392.

Ingolstadt he greatly distinguished himself in mathematics. In 1676, when the Duke of Bavaria and his father, the Elector, went from the electoral court at Munich to Ingolstadt, they engaged Kino in a discussion of mathematical sciences, with the result that he was offered a professorship in the University of Ingolstadt. But he preferred to become a missionary to heathen lands. To this, perhaps, he was inclined by family tradition, for he was a relative of Father Martini, famous missionary in the East and author of many works on China.

The decision to become a missionary was made when Kino was twenty-five, as the result of a serious illness. In his *Favores Celestiales* he tells us that "To the most glorious and most pious thaumaturgus and Apostle of the Indies, San Francisco Xavier, we all owe very much. I owe him first my life, which I was caused to despair of by the physicians in the city of Hala, of Tirol, in the year 1669; second, my entry into the Company of Jesus; and third, my coming to these missions."⁷ Another mark of Kino's gratitude for his recovery was the addition of Francisco to his name.

He had hoped to go to the Far East, literally to follow in the footsteps of his patron, but in 1678 there came a call for missionaries in New Spain, and thither he was sent instead. The exact date of Kino's arrival in Mexico has been a subject of conjecture and even of error by secondary writers, 1678, 1680, and 1681 being variously given. It will be seen below that the last date is the correct one.⁸

⁷ See volume i, 96-97. The date of his novitiate was 1665. Kino gives the date of his illness as 1669. In view of the great ease with which the figures 5 and 9 of the seventeenth century Spanish manuscripts became interchanged in transcribing, I suspect that the dates are one and the same, and that his becoming a Jesuit followed his illness.

⁸ Thwaites [*Jesuit Relations*, vol. lxviii, 333], gives the date 1678; Ban-

The circumstances of Kino's journey to America can be gleaned from Stöcklein's *Neue Welt-Bott*, a valuable but a much neglected source for American history.⁹ In that work is published a letter to his father by Adam Gerstle, a Jesuit missionary who came to the New World in the same mission with Father Kino. From Sommervogel we learn that Kino set out for America in April, 1678. From Father Gerstle's letter we learn that he and eighteen others, including Father Kino, left Genoa on June 12, on two Genoese vessels. The band included Father Carolus Calvanese and Franciscus Borgia, Italians; Theophilus de Angelis, a Welshman; Andreas Mancker, Carolus Borango, and Adam Gerstle, Austrians; Joannes Tilpe, Joannes Strobach, Josephus Neuman, Mathias Cuculinus, Paulus Klein, Wenceslaus Christman, and Brother Simon Poruhradiski, Bohemians; Joannes Ratkay, Hungarian; Thomas Revell, Netherlander; Mathias Fischer (country not named); Antonius Kerschbaumer and Eusebius Franciscus Chinus, Tyrolese.

The vessels reached Alicante on the twenty-fifth of June. Early in the voyage they had experienced a heavy storm, and when near port were becalmed for several days. On the way they passed numerous vessels, and as each hove in sight they prepared to give it battle, but all proved to be friendly. From Alicante the companions went to Seville, which they reached too late to take passage in the fleet sailing to the West Indies.¹⁰

Father Gerstle's letter gives a very graphic account

croft [*North Mexican States*, vol. i, 251], gives it 1680 or 1681; Beristáin [*Biblioteca Hispano-Americana*], and Sommervogel [*Bibliothèque*, vol. iv, 1044], say 1680; Ortega [*Hist. del Nayarit*, 284], correctly gives the date as 1681.

⁹ *Der Neue Welt-Bott mit allerhand Nachrichten dern Missionariorum Soc. Jesu.*

¹⁰ "Brief P. Adami Gerstl, S. J. an seinem Vatter," Puebla, July 14, 1681, in Stöcklein, *Neue Welt-Bott*, Theil i, num. 31.

of some phases of Seville life. He was especially interested in the monopoly of industry and commerce by the Dutch and the French, of the latter of whom forty thousand lived in Seville; in the amazing number of clergy and monastic houses there; in the prevalence of poverty and the multitude of beggars, of whom the archbishop regularly fed twenty-two thousand out of his income; in the crude skill of the blood-letters, at whose hands one of the nineteen, Father Fischer, succumbed; in the depreciation of silver on the arrival of a treasure fleet from America; in the crude methods of public execution, and the premature burials; and in the bull fights, in which the nobles participated and on which the Church frowned.

The delay in Spain was unexpectedly long. In 1679 some royal ships sailed for America, but as they went by the African coast to get slaves the Jesuits did not embark. Some private vessels also sailed, but their charge for the passage was higher than the Father Procurator was willing to pay, consequently they awaited the departure of the next royal fleet for the West Indies.

Late in March (the twenty-fifth) Gerstle and his companions returned to Cádiz, and on the eleventh of July the West Indian fleet sailed, convoyed by two armed galleons. But the vessel on which the eighteen Jesuits embarked foundered on a rock shortly after sailing, and they returned the same night to Cádiz on a small boat, the Tartana. The Father Procurator now bent every energy to get passage on one of the other vessels, and hurried back and forth between the port authorities and the admiral of the fleet. About two o'clock the next morning the sleeping band of Jesuits, now increased by two or three, were awakened by the Procurator, put on board a boat, and taken to the fleet,

already outside the harbor. The first vessel overhauled consented to take Fathers Calvanese and Borgia; the second refused to take any; on the third embarked Fathers Tilpe and Mancker; on the fourth Father Borango and Father Zarzola, superior of the mission; on the fifth Fathers De Angelis and Ratkay; on the sixth Fathers Strobach and Neuman. Brother Poruhradiski, who had remained on the wrecked vessel with the Jesuits' baggage, also managed to find passage on the same ship with the superior. But twelve were left behind, among them being Fathers Cuculinus, Klein, Christman, Kerschbaumer, Chinus (Kino), Revell, and Gerstle.¹¹ It is this enumeration by Father Gerstle that gives us our clue to Father Kino's movements.

Father Gerstle and seven companions now returned to Seville to wait, and to minister during an epidemic. Father Kino evidently remained at Cádiz, where he observed the great comet which was visible there between December and February. Meanwhile the Father Procurator conducted a lawsuit to recover six thousand dollars paid in advance for passage in the wrecked vessel.

On January 16, 1681, Father Gerstle and his companions again left Seville for Cádiz, arriving on the eighteenth, and on the twenty-ninth they at last set sail for America. In the West Indies the fleet divided, according to custom, and eight of the eighteen companions went to New Granada, the rest continuing to Vera Cruz, which they reached after a rough voyage of over ninety days.

The above account is gleaned from the letter written by Father Gerstle at Puebla, on July 14, 1681. It con-

¹¹ An account of the wreck and of the journey of some of the Fathers to America is given in "Brief Patris Mancker," Mexico, January 25, 1681, in Stöcklein, *Neue Welt-Bott*, Theil i, num. 30, pp. 85-90.

firms Father Ortega's statement that Kino arrived in America in 1681, Sommervogel and others to the contrary, notwithstanding. It, in turn, is circumstantially confirmed by the entry in the manuscript *Libro de Profesiones* of the Province of Mexico, which says of Fathers Kino and Revell: "They came from the Province of Austria and arrived at Veracruz on May 3, 1681."¹²

The band of devoted Jesuits who had set out from Genoa together were destined to scatter to the ends of the earth. The story of their personal experiences in America and the islands of the western seas occupies large space in the pages of Stöcklein's *Neue Welt-Bott*. As has been stated, eight of the companions were sent to New Granada. Ten came to Mexico, whence some went to the Philippines and others to the Marianas Islands and to China. Fathers Borango, Tilpe, Strobach, De Angelis, and Cuculinus went to work among the heathen of the Marianas Islands, Father Tilpe still being there in 1703. Mancker and Klein went to the Philippines and Gerstle to China. Ratkay worked in Sonora, Neuman in Nueva Vizcaya, Kino in California, Sonora, and Arizona. Of the four who went to Marianas Islands, three—Borango, Strobach, and De Angelis—won the martyr's crown.¹³

Father Kino's mathematical knowledge brought him into prominence as soon as he arrived in Mexico, where

¹² Beristáin, *Biblioteca Hispano Americana Septentrional, Adiciones y Correcciones* (1898), pp. 392-393. Gerstle says that the voyage lasted ninety-six days, beginning January 29. Counting to May 3 would give only ninety-five days.

¹³ See Stöcklein, "Vorrede des ersten Theils," and missionary letters by Borango (num. 2), Tilpe (num. 3, 64), Strobach (num. 4, num. 5), Cuculinus (num. 7, num. 8), Garzia and Bonani (num. 9), Mancker (num. 12, num. 20), Ratkay (num. 28, num. 29), Gerstle (num. 31), Neuman (num. 32), Gilg (num. 33, num. 35), Klein (num. 37).

he at once entered into a public discussion with the famous Jesuit scholar Sigüenza y Góngora, concerning the recent comet. One of the fruits of this discussion was a pamphlet published by Kino in Mexico in 1681 under the title: "Astronomical explanation of the comet which was seen all over the world during the months of November and December, 1680, and in January and February in this year of 1681, and which was observed in the city of Cádiz by Father Francisco Kino, of the Company of Jesus."¹⁴

As a result of this debate Kino enjoyed the friendship of Sigüenza y Góngora. This was no small matter, for Sigüenza was a man of great intellect and of wide influence. The impression made by Father Kino on Sigüenza was shared by the viceroy, the Marqués de la Laguna,¹⁵ and this in time led to further recognition.

KINO IN CALIFORNIA

Father Kino's first important missionary work in America was in Lower California. For two centuries and a half the Spaniards had made weak attempts to subdue and colonize that forbidding land. California

¹⁴ *Exposicion Astronomica de el Cometa, que el Año de 1680, por los meses de Noviembre, y Diciembre, y este Año de 1681, por los Meses de Enero y Febrero, se ha visto en todo el mundo, y le ha observado en la Ciudad de Cadiz, El P. Eusebio Francisco Kino de la Compañia de Jesus.* Con licencia, en Mexico por Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio, 1681, 4º fnc. 28, 1 carte. This title is taken from Sommervogel [*Bibliothèque*, vol iv, 1044], who gives also the circumstances of the composition of the work. Bancroft gives the first word of the title as "Explicación" [*North Mexican States and Texas*, vol. i, 251], while Beristáin gives several other variations from the above form. The title alone proves that Kino arrived in Mexico in 1681. He saw the comet in Cádiz between November, 1680, and February, 1681, and, by implication, only in Cádiz; therefore he could not have reached Mexico while the comet was still visible.

¹⁵ For the impression made by Kino on the viceroy, see the letter by Father Neuman, from Sisokitschik, Nueva Vizcaya, July 29, 1686, in *Neue Welt-Bott*, Theil i, 106.

had been discovered by one of Cortés's sailors in 1533. Two years later the great *conquistador* himself led a colony to the Peninsula, then thought to be an island and called Santa Cruz. The enterprise failed, but Cortés continued his explorations, and Ulloa, sent out by him in 1539, rounded the cape and proved Santa Cruz to be a peninsula. Henceforth it was called California. Three years later Cabrillo, in quest of the Strait of Anian, that is, the northern passage to the Atlantic in which everybody believed, explored the outer coast of California beyond Cape Mendocino.

New interest in California followed the conquest of the Philippines by Legazpi (1565-1571); indeed, in the later sixteenth century California was as much an appendage of Manila as of Mexico. Legazpi's men discovered a practicable return route to America, down the California coast, and thereupon trade, conducted in the Manila galleon, was established between Manila and Acapulco. But the voyage was long, scurvy exacted heavy tribute of crews and passengers, and a port of call was sorely needed. English pirates, too, like Drake and Cavendish, infested the Pacific, and were followed by the Dutch Pichilingues. California, therefore, must be explored, protected, and peopled.

It was with these needs in view that Cermeño in 1595 made his disastrous voyage down the California coast; that Vizcaíno in 1597 attempted the settlement of La Paz, and in 1602 explored the outer coast; and that the king in 1606 ordered a settlement made at Monterey.

The Monterey project failed, but settlements and missions crept up the Sinaloa coast across the Gulf, and the pearl fisheries of California attracted attention, hence new attempts were made on the Peninsula. Hav-

ing little cash to spare, the monarchs tried to make pearl fishing rights pay the cost of settlement and defense. In the course of the seventeenth century, therefore, numerous contracts were made with private adventurers. By the terms the patentees agreed to people California in return for a monopoly of pearl gathering. With nearly every expedition went missionaries, to convert and help tame the heathen. In pursuance of these agreements several attempts were made to settle, especially at La Paz, where Cortés and Vizcaíno both had failed. Other expeditions were fitted out at royal expense. The names of Carbonel, Córdova, Ortega, Porter y Casanate, Piñadero, and Lucenilla all stand for seventeenth century failures to colonize California.

At first the natives of California had been docile, but they had been enslaved and abused by the pearl hunters, against the royal will, and had become suspicious and hostile, as later pioneers learned. Through various misunderstandings and incomplete explorations, in the course of the century California had again come to be regarded as an island.

In spite of the repeated failures, another attempt at settlement was decided upon. By an agreement of December, 1678, confirmed by a royal cédula of December 29, 1679, the enterprise was entrusted to Don Isidro Atondo y Antillón, governor of Sinaloa, who was now given the title of Admiral of the kingdom of the Californias.¹⁶ The spiritual ministry, so important a part of every Spanish conquest, was assigned to the Jesuits, by agreement with the Father Provincial, Bernardo Pardo.

¹⁶ Venegas, *Noticia*, vol. i, 219; *Autos sobre los Parages que ha descubierto en las Yslas Californias el Almirante don Ysidro de Atondo*, in *El Virey de la Nueva España da cuenta*, etc., A.G.I., 1-1-2/31.

In the midst of Atondo's preparations Father Kino arrived in Mexico (in May, 1681), and was named, with Father Matías Goñi, missionary to California. Again Kino's mathematical learning was given recognition, for the viceroy made him royal cosmographer, that is, astronomer, surveyor, and map maker, of the expedition. Before leaving Mexico Kino prepared himself for his scientific task by studying California geography, borrowing maps for the purpose from the viceroy's palace and taking them to the Colegio Maximo of San Pedro y San Pablo to copy.¹⁷

It was expected that the expedition would sail in the fall of 1681, and before the end of the year Kino left the capital for his new field of labor. On November 15, presumably on his way through Guadalajara, he was made vicar of the Bishop of Nueva Galicia for California, Father Goñi being made his assistant. As the vessels for the expedition were being built by Atondo at Pueblo de Nío, near Villa de Sinaloa, thither Kino made his way, and there we find him in March, 1682.¹⁸

Kino now became involved, innocently, in a dispute over ecclesiastical jurisdiction in California between the bishops of Guadalajara and Durango.¹⁹ Having already a commission as vicar of the former, because of the dispute, it would seem, he applied for and secured

¹⁷ See page 334. Venegas, *Noticia*, vol. i, 219, conveys the impression that the royal *cédula* of December 29, 1679, named Kino cosmographer, but he is not mentioned in that document [*Baja California Cédulas*, Ms., Bancroft Library, 74]. The selection of the missionaries was doubtless made by the Provincial Father Pardo [Alegre, *Hist.*, vol. iii, 42-43]. See also Clavigero, 36; *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, cuarta série, vol. v, 11-12; Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i, 186-187.

¹⁸ These movements of Father Kino between his arrival in Mexico and his departure for California, hitherto unknown, are revealed by a manuscript *expediente* entitled *Sobre pertenencia del Gobierno Espiritual de Californias*, A.G.I., 67-4-2.

¹⁹ *Expediente sobre pertenencia*; Alegre, *Hist.*, vol. iii, 27-28.

a similar commission from the latter.²⁰ This may or may not be the reason why Father Antonio Suárez was now made superior of the California mission, but so he was. Incident to the contest, Father Kino was ordered by the Bishop of Guadalajara to relinquish his commission from the rival bishop, and the question was terminated by the viceroy in favor of Guadalajara. By December 5 the vessels had left Sinaloa and were at Chacala, taking on supplies, and Fathers Suárez, Kino, and Goñi were there ready to embark. For some reason not given Father Suárez did not go to California, however, and Kino went as superior.²¹

At last, on January 17, 1683, the expedition sailed. The voyage was difficult, the crew raw, and the vessels were driven into the harbor at Mazatlán. Two months after setting sail they entered the Sinaloa River,²² well north of their objective point. From here they retraced their course, crossed the Gulf, and reached the coast near La Paz, already the site of so many failures. During the voyage the launch was lost and never reached port.²³

On April 1 anchor was cast and a formal proclamation issued requiring good treatment of the Indians and regulating the gathering of precious metals and pearls, the two primary interests of the expedition. Next

²⁰ His application was made at Pueblo de Nío, March 25, 1682. *Expediente sobre pertenencia*.

²¹ Bancroft [*North Mexican States*, vol. i, 187] states that Father Goñi did not go with this expedition. This is a mistake, it being Father Copart and not Goñi who went later.

²² March 18.

²³ "A Descent made by the Spaniards, in the Island of California," in Lockman, *Travels of the Jesuits*, vol. i, 408-420. For other forms of this narrative see Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i, 187, footnote 24. Some doubt was expressed as to whether or not this was the old Bay of La Paz (*ibid.*, 410). It was at any rate clearly the one now so-called.

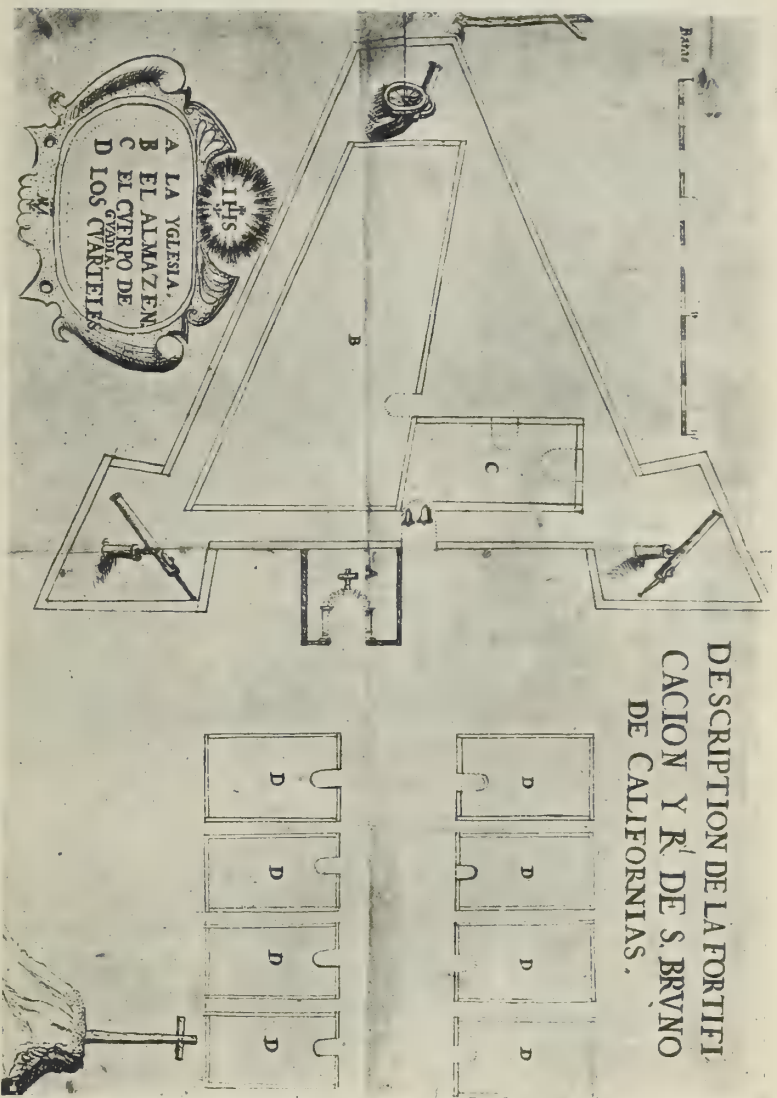
day a site was selected and a cross erected near a fine grove of palm trees and a good spring of water. On the fifth all disembarked with the royal standard, a salute was fired, three *vivas* were shouted for Charles II, and the admiral took possession for the king, calling the province Santísima Trinidad de la California. At the same time Fathers Kino and Goñi took ecclesiastical possession.²⁴

A small fort was begun at once, and a log church and huts were erected. Sending the Concepción to the Río Yaqui for supplies, Atondo and Kino made minor explorations. The Indians near the settlement, though shy at first, soon became friendly, and Fathers Kino and Goñi began to study their language. The Guaycuros, toward the south, and enemies of the former, were hostile on the other hand, and by July 1 a state of war existed. The soldiers were now panic stricken, and clamored to abandon the settlement. "It is plain," says Father Venegas, that Atondo "had with him few like those courageous and hardened men who at an earlier day had subdued America." Since the Concepción had not returned, and supplies were consequently short, Atondo yielded, and on July 14 the San José weighed anchor, with all the Spaniards on board.

Atondo now went to the Sinaloa coast to refit, in order to make a new attempt farther up the California coast, where more promising lands and Indians had been reported. Setting sail again, on October 6 he landed with the missionaries and men at a bay called San Bruno, a few leagues north of La Paz. Here a new

²⁴ The formal act of possession by Atondo is preserved for us in Alegre, *Hist.*, vol. iii, 43-45; that by Kino and Goñi is contained in *Sobre pertenencia*. Kino and Goñi both signed acts of possession. The dates given above are from the acts of possession, there being some discrepancy in the account given in Lockman.

DESCRIPTION DE LA FORTIFI-
CACION Y R^l DE S. BRUNO
DE CALIFORNIA.



PLAN OF THE SETTLEMENT AT SAN BRUNO, 1683

settlement was begun, the San José being sent for supplies and recruits and with dispatches for the viceroy.²⁵

The routine of life at San Bruno from December 21, 1683, to May 8, 1684, can be gleaned from the detailed diary kept by Father Kino and preserved to us in the original in the archives of Mexico.²⁶ It begins with an account of an exploration by Father Kino and Ensign Contreras into the Sierra Giganta, to the west. The principal occupations at the little outpost of civilization were those connected with providing food, shelter, protection, and the conversion of the natives. The docile Indians labored willingly in building the fort, the houses, and the church, and brought such supplies as the sterile land afforded.

Father Kino's diary gives us a perfect picture of a true missionary, devoted heart and soul to the one object of converting and civilizing the natives, and for whom no task was too mean and no incident too trivial if it contributed to his main end. He was like the artist, or the true scholar, much of whose labor would be unbearable drudgery to one not inspired with the zeal of a devotee.

Kino regarded the poor natives as his personal wards. He loved them with a real affection, and he ever stood ready to minister to their bodily wants, or to defend them against false charges or harsh treatment. He dwelt with affection on all evidence of friendship shown by the Indians, and recorded every indication of their intelligence. He took sincere delight in instructing them, and in satisfying their childish curiosity re-

²⁵ Venegas, *Noticia*, vol. i, 222-230; *Autos sobre los Parages*.

²⁶ *Tercera Entrada en 21 de Diciembre de 1683* (printed in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, cuarta série, vol. i, 405-458). Original manuscript in the archives of Mexico. The details are filled in by the *Autos sobre los Parages*.

garding such things as the compass, the sun dial, the lens with which he started fires, and the meaning of the symbols used in his maps.

The first task of the missionary was to win the confidence of the natives, and the direct way to their hearts was through their stomachs. Whenever a visit was made to an outlying *ranchería*, therefore, gifts of maize, *pinole*, and other eatables were carried for all natives who might be encountered. When strangers came from a distance they, too, were given presents. Confidence having been secured, the Indians would leave their boys with the missionaries, whose house was usually crowded with them over night. Thus was afforded a means of teaching them the Spanish language, and the rudimentary uses of clothing, and to recite the prayers, sing, and perform domestic duties. It was with the young that Kino was especially concerned, and whenever he made an excursion he was usually followed by a troop of Indian boys running by his side, trying to keep up, or crying if left behind. Often one or more urchins might be seen triumphantly mounted behind the Father on the haunches of his horse. Kino tells with zest how a young boy who was living at the mission resisted the efforts of his parents to take him away, calling for help on "Padre Eusebio."

Nothing gave Father Kino such true pleasure as some sign that an Indian was becoming interested in the Faith.²⁷ He dwells at length and with evident delight on the story of a little native girl who knelt before a picture of the Virgin and begged permission to hold the Christ Child; on the progress made by his charges in repeating the prayers, singing the *salve*, and reciting the

²⁷ On the other hand he showed little interest in the tribal customs, which so engaged the attention of many missionaries.

litanies; and on their zeal in helping to decorate the crude church for the celebration of the feast days.

Sometimes, as was true of all missionaries among the heathen, his ingenuity was put to the test to explain Christian concepts in the simple Indian language. A classic example is his own story of how he explained the Resurrection by reviving some apparently lifeless flies. When the astonished Indians shouted *Ibimu huegite* they had given the Father the native term for which he had been seeking.

On August 10 the San José at last returned, bringing twenty additional soldiers, supplies, and dispatches from the viceroy. At this time Father Juan Bautista Copart also came, and on August 15 Father Kino made final profession within the Jesuit Order in Father Copart's hands. An extended exploration across the mountains was now projected, and during the autumn the San José plied to and from the Yaqui River, bringing horses, mules, and supplies. On the first expedition, made between August 29 and September 25, Father Kino accompanied Captain Andrés, and secured aid from the mainland missions, particularly from Father Cervantes at Torín. Bancroft conjectures that Kino "probably remained in Sonora a year," but such was by no means the case.²⁸ On a subsequent trip Kino's place was taken by Father Goñi. While the San José was making her supply voyages a new post and mission were established a few leagues inland from San Bruno at the fine springs of San Isidro.

The expedition over the mountains was planned for December, but when it was ready to start some of the soldiers opposed it. The year had been one of extreme

²⁸ *North Mexican States*, vol. i, 251. Bancroft's whole treatment of the subject here is hazy and inaccurate. Kino returned with Andrés on Sept. 25.

drought, both in California and on the mainland, and there was a serious lack of supplies. Both the Concepción and the launch had failed to appear, and the safety of the settlers depended on one small vessel, which was now about to leave for Mexico. The clamors of the faint-hearted, however, merely served to bring out that optimism which was one of Kino's strongest qualities, and in his letters to the viceroy he discounts the dismal prophesies of the malcontents.

The San José sailed on December 14, bearing Father Copart, whose stay in California was therefore short, and on that day Atondo was at San Isidro ready to start on his expedition on the morrow, accompanied by Father Kino, twenty-nine soldiers and Indian guides, and taking eighty mules and horses. This expedition apparently did not succeed, but either it or another did, for Father Kino tells us that in 1685 he, with Atondo, crossed the mountains to the South Sea, in latitude twenty-six degrees, where he saw certain blue shells, which fifteen years later became an important factor in his further movements. Meanwhile the complaints of the soldiers grew stronger, and the tide of discontent could not be stemmed even by Father Kino's optimism. A council was held, and on May 7 Atondo, his men, and the missionaries again abandoned their settlement.²⁹

For the remainder of the story of this enterprise we have hitherto been dependent chiefly upon Father Venegas's history, but we now have access to a file of contemporary letters by Fathers Kino and Goñi³⁰ which give us more exact information. On May 8 Atondo and Father Goñi, in a bilander, set sail for

²⁹ For the above events see *Autos sobre los Parages que ha descubierta.*

³⁰ No. 30. *El Obispo da cuenta del estado en que esta la conquista de las Yslas Californias.* A.G.I. 67-3-28.

the port of San Ignacio, Sinaloa, to refit for a pearl gathering expedition to California. A few hours later Captain Guzmán and Father Kino, in the Concepción, steered for the Yaqui River, to refit for an expedition to explore the California coast in search of a better site further north. Equipping his launch, Atondo, with Father Goñi, recrossed the Gulf, and spent the greater part of August and September in pearl hunting, but with very slender results. By September 22 he had returned to San Ignacio.⁸¹

Landing at the Yaqui River mouth on May 11, Guzmán and Kino went with their party to recuperate at the mission of Father Cervantes at Torín, and on the nineteenth Kino went on to visit the Father Rector, Diego de Marquina, at the mission of Raun. At these missions supplies were gathered, and in June Guzmán and Kino sailed up the Gulf to the Seris coast. At Salpuedes Father Kino spent three days with the natives, who begged him to remain among them, promising him horses, provisions, and aid in building a mission. This visit had a direct connection with Father Kino's advent later in Pimería Alta. On the way down the Gulf they explored the California coast for a short distance above San Bruno, where they stopped late in August,⁸² finding the country now green, after the long drought, and the Indians anxious for their return. Encountering the admiral engaged in pearl fishing, on September 7 they again lost sight of him, and, being short of provisions, they sailed to Matanchel, arriving

⁸¹ Father Goñi to the Bishop of Guadalajara, on board the bilander, at San Ignacio, September 22, 1685, manuscript in No. 30. Venegas [*Noticia*, vol. i, 236] makes it appear that the settlement of San Bruno was removed by Atondo during this voyage, but from the contemporary correspondence it is clear that this is a mistake. It had already been abandoned in May.

⁸² The twenty-eighth. Guzmán, Kino, and seven or eight soldiers landed.

on September 17, and finding the San José there and well equipped for California, but with its captain dead. From Matanchel Father Kino went to Guadalajara, where on October 10 he wrote to the Bishop a long report, and made a fervent appeal for California.

Having returned to San Ignacio in September, Atondo received a despatch from the viceroy ordering him to maintain the California settlements already undertaken. But as the Concepción had gone to Matanchel with the soldiers and Father Kino, Atondo could do nothing but follow them thither.

On the last day of October Kino left Guadalajara to return to Matanchel and join Atondo. Just outside Compostela he met the admiral on his way to Mexico. When Kino reached Matanchel on November 12, he learned that by a despatch of October 31, predicated on the assumption that California had been abandoned, and that the fleet was without occupation, Atondo was ordered to go to meet the Manila galleon, warn it against Dutch pirates, and escort it to Acapulco. This news was most depressing to Father Kino, and again he addressed to the Bishop of Guadalajara an appeal for California.³³

Atondo also returned to Matanchel, and on November 29 he and Kino sailed in the fleet to meet the galleon. Falling in with it next day, they convoyed it safely to Acapulco. Thence they proceeded to Mexico, where Father Kino lodged at the Casa Profesa. Early in February the viceroy held a council, before which reports on California by Atondo and Kino were read. It being concluded that California could not be subdued

³³ Father Kino to the Bishop of Guadalajara,, Colegio de Guadalajara, October 10, 1685. Kino to the Bishop of Guadalajara, Matanchel, November 15, 1685. Kino to the Bishop of Guadalajara, Compostela, November 5, 1685, in No. 30. *El Obispo da cuenta.*

by the methods hitherto attempted, it was decided to relinquish the task to the Jesuits, with an annual subsidy from the crown, and on April 11 Kino and Atondo were requested to report the amount needed. But the vice-provincial, Father Marrás, rejected the offer, on the ground that the Order did not wish to undertake the burden of temporal administration. It was now decided, therefore, to furnish Atondo the thirty thousand dollars a year which he and Kino had reported necessary. A new expedition was thus about to be undertaken by these two veterans, when an urgent request for half a million dollars came from Spain, together with an order, dated December 22, 1685, to suspend the conquest of California because of the recent revolt of the Tarahumares.³⁴ Thus was the California enterprise put aside, to be revived twelve years later by Kino and Salvatierra.

KINO IN PIMERÍA ALTA

At this point Father Kino takes up in detail the story of his career in America in his *Favores Celestiales*, which is printed hereinafter, and the remainder of this sketch will therefore be brief.³⁵ As soon as he learned that the conversion of California had been suspended, he asked and obtained permission to go to the Guaymas and Seris, with whom he had dealt during his voyages from California to the mainland. Leaving Mexico City on November 20, 1686, he went to Guadalajara,

³⁴ Kino to the Bishop of Guadalajara, Casa Profesa, February 15, 1686; Venegas, *Noticia*, vol. i, 236-240; real *cédula*, December 22, 1685, A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library. According to a dispatch from the Audiencia of Guadalajara, April 27, 1702, the abandonment of California cost Father Copart his reason, which at that date he had not recovered. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library.

³⁵ Since this section is based largely on the *Favores Celestiales*, printed hereinafter, numerous specific references will not be given.

where he secured special privileges from the Audiencia. Setting forth again on December 16, he reached Sonora early in 1687, and was assigned, not to the Guaymas as he had hoped, but to Pimería Alta, instead.

Pimería Alta included what is now northern Sonora and southern Arizona. It extended from the Altar River, in Sonora, to the Gila, and from the San Pedro River to the Gulf of California and the Colorado of the West. At that day it was all included in the province of Nueva Vizcaya; later it was attached to Sonora, to which it belonged until the northern portion was cut off by the Gadsden Purchase.

Kino found Pimería Alta occupied by different divisions of the Pima nation. Chief of these were the Pima proper, living in the valleys of the Gila and the Salt Rivers, especially in the region now occupied by the Pima Reservation. The valleys of the San Pedro and the Santa Cruz were inhabited by the Sobaipuris, now a practically extinct people, except for the strains of their blood still represented in the Pima and Papago tribes. West of the Sobaipuris, on both sides of the international boundary line, were the Papagos, or the Papabotes, as the early Spaniards called them. On the northwestern border of the region, along the lower Gila and the Colorado Rivers, were the different Yuman tribes, such as the Yumas, the Cocomaricopas, the Cocopas, and the Quiquimas. All of these latter spoke the Yuman language, which was, as it is today, quite distinct from that of the Pima.

When Kino made his first explorations down the San Pedro and the Santa Cruz Valleys, he found them each supporting ten or a dozen villages of Sobaipuris, the population of the former aggregating some two thousand persons, and of the latter some two thousand five

hundred. The Indians of both valleys were then practicing agriculture by irrigation, and raising cotton for clothing, and maize, beans, calabashes, melons, and wheat for food. The Papagos were less advanced than the Pimas and Sobaipuris, but at Sonóita, at least, they were found practicing irrigation by means of ditches. The Yumas raised crops, but apparently without artificial irrigation. Much more notable than the irrigation in use at the coming of the Spaniards, were the remains of many miles of aqueducts, and the huge ruins of cities which had long before been abandoned, structures which are now attributed by scientists to the ancestors of the Pimas.

Father Kino arrived in Pimería Alta in March, 1687,³⁶ and began without the loss of a single day a work of exploration, conversion, and mission building that lasted only one year less than a quarter of a century. When he reached the scene of his labors the frontier mission station was at Cucurpe, in the valley of the river now called San Miguel. Cucurpe still exists, a quiet little Mexican pueblo, sleeping under the shadow of the Agua Prieta Mountains, and inhabited by descendants of the Eudeve Indians who were there when Kino arrived. To the east, in Nueva Vizcaya, were the already important *reales*, or mining camps, of San Juan and Bacanuche, and to the south were numerous missions, ranches, and mining towns; but beyond, in Pimería Alta, all was the untouched and unknown country of the upper Pimas.

On the outer edge of this virgin territory, some fifteen miles above Cucurpe, on the San Miguel River, Kino founded the mission of Nuestra Señora de los Do-

³⁶ It may be of interest to note that this was the very month of La Salle's assassination in the wilds of Texas.

lores (Our Lady of Sorrows), at the Indian village of Cosari. The site chosen was one of peculiar fitness and beauty. It is a commonplace to say that the missionaries always selected the most fertile spots for their missions. This is true, but it is more instructive to give the reason. They ordinarily founded their missions at or near the villages of the Indians for whom they were designed, and these were usually placed at the most fertile spots along the rich valleys of the streams. And so it was with the village of Cosari.

Near where Cosari stood, the little San Miguel breaks through a narrow cañon, whose walls rise several hundred feet in height. Above and below the cañon, the river valley broadens out into rich *vegas* of irrigable bottom lands, half a mile or more in width and several miles in length. On the east, the valley is walled in by the Sierra de Santa Teresa, on the west by the Sierra del Torreón. Closing the lower valley and hiding Cucurpe, stands Cerro Prieto; and cutting off the observer's view toward the north rises the grand and rugged Sierra Azul. At the cañon where the river breaks through, the western mesa juts out and forms a cliff, approachable only from the west.

On this promontory, protected on three sides from attack, and affording a magnificent view, was placed the mission of Dolores. Here still stand its ruins, in full view of the valley above and below, of the mountain walls on the east and the west, the north and the south, and within the sound of the rushing cataract of the San Miguel as it courses through the gorge. This meager ruin on the cliff, consisting now of a mere fragment of an adobe wall and saddening piles of debris, is the most venerable of the many mission remains in all Arizona and northern Sonora, for Our Lady of Sorrows was mother of them all, and for nearly a quarter of a

century was the home of the remarkable missionary who built them.³⁷

From his outpost at Dolores, during the next quarter century, Kino and his companions pushed the frontier of missionary work and exploration across Pimería Alta to the Gila and Colorado Rivers. By 1695 Kino had established a chain of missions up and down the valley of the Altar and Magdalena Rivers and another chain northeast of Dolores. In April, 1700, he founded, within the present state of Arizona, the mission of San Xavier del Bac, and within the next two years those of Tumacácori and Guebavi within the present state of Arizona. Kino's exploring tours were also itinerant missions, and in the course of them he baptized and taught in numerous villages, all up and down the Gila and the lower Colorado, and in all parts of northern Pimería.

Kino's work as missionary was paralleled by his achievement as explorer, and to him is due the credit for the first mapping of Pimería Alta on the basis of actual exploration. The region had been entered by Fray Marcos, by Melchior Díaz, and by the main Coronado party, in the period 1539-1541. But these explorers had only passed along its eastern and western borders; for it is no longer believed that they went down the Santa Cruz. Not since that day—a century and a half before—had Arizona been entered from the south by a single recorded expedition, while, so far as we know, not since 1605, when Oñate went from Moqui down the Colorado of the West, had any white man seen the Gila River.³⁸ The rediscovery, there-

³⁷ The ruins of the Mission of Dolores are on Rancho de Dolores, on the hill directly overlooking the residence of the owner. They were visited by the writer in 1911.

³⁸ Father Kino is authority for the statement that before his day the Spaniards of New Mexico had traded with the Sobaipuris of the San Pedro Valley.

fore, and the first interior exploration of Pimería Alta was the work of Father Kino.

Not to count the minor and unrecorded journeys among his widely separated missions, he made at least fourteen expeditions across the line into what is now Arizona. Six of them took him as far as Tumacácori, Benson, San Xavier del Bac, or Tucson. Six carried him to the Gila over five different routes. Twice he reached that stream by way of Santa Cruz, returning once via Casa Grande, Sonóita, the Gulf of California and Caborca. Once he went by way of the San Pedro, once from El Saric across to the Gila below the Big Bend, and three times by way of Sonóita and the Camino del Diablo, along the Gila Range. Two of these expeditions carried him to Yuma and down the Colorado. Once he crossed that stream into California, and finally he reached its mouth.

East and west, between Sonóita and the eastern missions, he crossed southern Arizona several times and by several trails. In what is now Sonora he made at least half a dozen recorded journeys from Dolores to Caborca and the coast, three to the Santa Clara Mountain to view the head of the California Gulf, and two to the coast by then unknown routes south of the Altar River. This enumeration does not include his journey to Mexico, nor the numerous other trips to distant interior points in what is now Sonora, to see the superior mission authorities.

After 1699, aside from his search for souls in the Pimería, Kino's most absorbing quest was made in search of a land route to California. Since the days of Cortés and Cabrillo many views had been held regarding the geography of California, some regarding it as a peninsula and others as an island. Kino had been

taught by Father Aygentler, in the University of Ingolstadt, that it was a peninsula, and had come to America firm in this belief; but in deference to current opinion, and as a result of certain observations of his own, he had given up the notion, and as late as 1698 he wrote of California as "the largest island of the world." But during the journey of 1699 to the Gila occurred an incident that caused him to turn again to the peninsular theory. It was the gift, when near the Yuma junction, of certain blue shells, such as he had seen in 1685 on the Pacific coast of the Peninsula of California, and there only. If the shells had come to the Yumas from the South Sea, he reasoned, must there not be land connection with California and the ocean, by way of the Yuma country? Kino now ceased his work on the boat he was building at Caborca and Dolores for the navigation of the Gulf, and directed his efforts to learning more about the source of the blue shells. For this purpose he made a journey in 1700 to San Xavier del Bac. Thither he called the Indians from all the villages for hundreds of miles around, and in "long talks" at night he learned that only from the South Sea could the blue shells be had.

This assurance was the inspiration of his remaining journeys. In the same year, 1700, he for the first time reached the Yuma junction, and learned that he was above the head of the Gulf, which greatly strengthened his belief in the peninsular theory. In the next year he returned to the same point by way of the Camino del Diablo, passed some distance down the Colorado, and crossed over to the California side, towed on a raft by Indians and sitting in a basket. Finally, in 1702, his triumph came, for he again returned to the Yuma junction, descended the Colorado to the Gulf, and saw the

sun rise over its head. He was now satisfied that he had demonstrated the feasibility of a land passage to California and had disproved the idea that California was an island.

In estimating these feats of exploration we must remember the meager outfit and the limited aid with which he performed them. He was not supported and encouraged by several hundred horsemen and a great retinue of friendly Indians as were De Soto and Coronado. On the contrary, in all but two cases he went almost unaccompanied by military aid, and more than once he went without a single white man. In one expedition, made in 1697 to the Gila, he was accompanied by Lieutenant Manje, Captain Bernal, and twenty-two soldiers. In 1701 he was escorted by Manje and ten soldiers. At other times he had no other military support than Lieutenant Manje or Captain Carrasco, without soldiers. Once Father Gilg, besides Manje, accompanied him; once two priests and two citizens. His last great exploration to the Gila was made with only one other white man in his party, while in 1694, 1700, and 1701 he reached the Gila with no living soul save his Indian servants. But he was usually well supplied with horses and mules from his own ranches, for he took at different times as many as fifty, sixty, eighty, ninety, one hundred and five, and even one hundred and thirty head.

The work which Father Kino did as a ranchman, or stockman, would alone stamp him as an unusual business man, and make him worthy of remembrance. He was easily the cattle king of his day and region. From the small outfit supplied him from the older missions to the east and south, within fifteen years he established the beginnings of ranching in the valleys of the Mag-

dalena, the Altar, the Santa Cruz, the San Pedro, and the Sonóita. The stock-raising industry of nearly twenty places on the modern map owes its beginnings on a considerable scale to this indefatigable man. And it must not be supposed that he did this for private gain, for he did not own a single animal. It was to furnish a food supply for the Indians of the missions established and to be established, and to give these missions a basis of economic prosperity and independence. It would be impossible to give a detailed statement of his work of this nature, but some of the exact facts are necessary to convey the impression. Most of the facts, of course, were unrecorded, but from those available it is learned that stock ranches were established by him or directly under his supervision, at Dolores, Caborca, Tubutama, San Ignacio, Imuris, Magdalena, Quiburi, Tumacácori, Cocóspera, San Xavier del Bac, Bacoancos, Guebavi, Síboda, Busanic, Sonóita, San Lázaro, Saric, Santa Bárbara, and Santa Eulalia.

Characteristic of Kino's economic efforts are those reflected in Father Saeta's letter thanking him for the present of one hundred and fifteen head of cattle and as many sheep for the beginnings of a ranch at Caborca. In 1699 a ranch was established at Sonóita for the triple purpose of supplying the little mission there, furnishing food for the missionaries of California, if perchance they should reach that point, and as a base of supplies for the explorations which Kino hoped to undertake and did undertake to the Yumas and Cocomaricopas, of whom he had heard while on the Gila. In 1700, when the mission of San Xavier was founded, Kino rounded up the fourteen hundred head of cattle on the ranch of his own mission of Dolores, divided them into two equal droves, and sent one of them under his Indian

overseer to Bac, where the necessary corrals were constructed.

Not only his own missions but those of sterile California must be supplied; and in the year 1700 Kino took from his own ranches seven hundred cattle and sent them to Salvatierra, across the Gulf, at Loreto, a transaction which was several times repeated.

And it must not be forgotten that Kino conducted this cattle industry with Indian labor, almost without the aid of a single white man. An illustration of his method and of his difficulties is found in the fact that the important ranch at Tumacácori, Arizona, was founded with cattle and sheep driven, at Kino's orders one hundred miles across the country from Caborca, by the very Indians who had murdered Father Saeta at Caborca in 1695. There was always the danger that the mission Indians would revolt and run off the stock, as they did in 1695; and the danger, more imminent, that the hostile Apaches, Janos, and Jocomes would do this damage, and add to it the destruction of life, as experience often proved.

Kino's endurance in the saddle was worthy of a seasoned cowboy. This is evident from the bare facts with respect to the long journeys which he made. When he went to the City of Mexico in the fall of 1695, being then at the age of fifty-one, he made the journey in fifty-three days, between November 16 and January 8. The distance, *via* Guadalajara, is no less than fifteen hundred miles, making his average, not counting the stops which he made at Guadalajara and other important places, nearly thirty miles per day. In November, 1697, when he went to the Gila, he rode about seven hundred or eight hundred miles in thirty days, not counting out the stops. On his journey in 1698 to the

Gila he made an average of twenty-five or more miles a day for twenty-six days, over an unknown country. In 1699 he made the trip to and from the lower Gila, about eight or nine hundred miles, in thirty-five days, an average of ten leagues a day, or twenty-five to thirty miles. In October and November, 1699, he rode two hundred and forty leagues in thirty-nine days. In September and October, 1700, he rode three hundred and eighty-four leagues, or perhaps one thousand miles, in twenty-six days. This was an average of nearly forty miles a day. In 1701, he made over four hundred leagues, or more than eleven hundred miles, in thirty-five days, an average of over thirty miles a day. He was then nearing the age of sixty.

Thus we see that it was customary for Kino to make an average of thirty or more miles a day for weeks or months at a time, when he was on these missionary tours, and out of this time are to be counted the long stops which he made to preach to and baptize the Indians, and to say mass.

A special instance of his hard riding is found in the journey which he made in November, 1699, with Father Leal, the Visitor of the missions. After twelve days of continuous travel, supervising, baptizing, and preaching up and down the Santa Cruz Valley, going the while at the average rate of twenty-three miles (nine leagues) a day, he left Father Leal at Batki to go home by carriage over a more direct route, while he and Manje sped "*á la ligera*" to the west and northwest, to see if there were any sick Indians to baptize. Going thirteen leagues (thirty-three miles) on the eighth, he baptized two infants and two adults at the village of San Rafael. On the ninth he rode nine

leagues to another village, made a census of four hundred Indians, preached to them, and continued sixteen more leagues to another village, making nearly sixty miles for the day. On the tenth he made a census of the assembled throng of three hundred persons, preached, baptized three sick persons, distributed presents, and then rode thirty-three leagues (some seventy-five miles) over a pass in the mountains to Sonóita, arriving there in the night, having stopped to make a census of, preach to, and baptize in, two villages on the way. After four hours of sleep, on the eleventh he baptized and preached, and then rode, that day and night, the fifty leagues (or from one hundred to one hundred and twenty-five miles) that lie between Sonóita and Busanic, where he overtook Father Leal. During the last three days he had ridden no less than one hundred and eight leagues, or from two hundred and fifty to three hundred miles, counting, preaching to, and baptizing in five villages on the way. And yet he was up next morning, preaching, baptizing, and supervising the butchering of cattle for supplies. Truly this was strenuous work for a man of fifty-five.

Another instance of his disregard of toil in ministering to others may be cited. On the morning of May 3, 1700, he was at Tumacácori, on his way to Dolores, from the founding of Mission San Xavier del Bac. As he was about to say mass at sunrise, he received an urgent message from Father Campos, begging him to hasten to San Ignacio to help save a poor Indian whom the soldiers had imprisoned and were about to execute on the following day. Stopping to say mass and to write a hurried letter to Captain Escalante, he rode by midnight to Imuris, and arrived at San Ignacio in time to say early mass and to save the Indian from

death. The direct route by rail from Tumacácori to Imuris is sixty-two miles, and to San Ignacio it is seventy. If Kino went the then usual route by the Santa Cruz River, he must have ridden seventy-five or more miles on this errand of mercy in considerably less than a day.

Kino's physical courage is attested by his whole career in America, spent in exploring unknown wilds and laboring among untamed savages. But it is especially shown by several particular episodes in his life. In March and April, 1695, the Pimas of the Altar Valley rose in revolt. At Caborca Father Saeta was killed and became the proto-martyr of Pimería Alta. At Caborca and Tubutama seven servants of the mission were slain, and at Caborca, Tubutama, Imuris, San Ignacio and Magdalena—the whole length of the Altar and Magdalena Valleys—the mission churches and other buildings were burned and the stock killed or stampeded. The missionary of Tubutama fled over the mountains to Cucurpe. San Ignacio being attacked by three hundred warriors, Father Campos fled to the same refuge, guarded on each side by two soldiers. At Dolores Father Kino, Lieutenant Manje, and three citizens of Bacanuche awaited the onslaught. An Indian who had been stationed on the mountains, seeing the smoke at San Ignacio, fled to Dolores with the news that Father Campos and all the soldiers had been killed. Manje sped to Opodepe to get aid; the three citizens hurried home to Bacanuche, and Kino was left alone. When Manje returned next day, together they hid the treasures of the church in a cave, but in spite of the soldier's entreaties that they should flee, Kino insisted on returning to the mission to await death, which they did. It is indicative of the modesty of this great soul

that in his own history this incident in his life is passed over in complete silence. But Manje, who was weak or wise enough to wish to flee, was also generous and brave enough to record the *padre's* heroism and his own fears.

In 1701 Kino made his first exploration down the Colorado below the Yuma junction—the first that had been made for almost a century. With him was one Spaniard, the only other white man in the party. As they left the Yuma country and entered that of the Quiquimas, the Spaniard, Kino tells us in his diary, “on seeing such a great number of new people,” and such people—that is, they were giants in size—became frightened and fled, and was seen no more. But the missionary, thus deserted, instead of turning back, despatched messages that he was safe, continued down the river two days, and crossed the Colorado, towed by the Indians on a raft and sitting in a basket, into territory never before trod by white men since 1540. Perhaps he was in no danger, but the situation had proved too much for the nerve of his white companion, at least.

And what kind of a man personally was Father Kino to those who knew him intimately? Was he rugged, coarse fibered, and adapted by nature to such a rough frontier life of exposure? I know of no portrait of him made by sunlight or the brush, but there is, fortunately, a picture drawn by the pen of his companion during the last eight years of his life, and his successor at Dolores. Father Luis Velarde tells us that Kino was a modest, humble, gentle, ascetic, of mediaeval type, drilled by his religious training to complete self effacement. I should not be surprised to find that, like Father Junípero Sierra, he was slight of body as he was gentle of mind.

Velarde says of him:

Permit me to add what I observed in the eight years during which I was his companion. His conversation was of the mellifluous names of Jesus and Mary, and of the heathen for whom he was ever offering prayers to God. In saying his breviary he always wept. He was edified by the lives of the saints, whose virtues he preached to us. When he publicly reprimanded a sinner he was choleric. But if anyone showed him personal disrespect he controlled his temper to such an extent that he made it a habit to exalt whomsoever maltreated him by word, deed, or in writing. . . . And if it was to his face that they were said, he embraced the one who spoke them, saying, "You are and ever will be my dearest master!" even though he did not like him. And then, perhaps, he would go and lay the insults at the feet of the Divine Master and the sorrowing Mother, into whose temple he went to pray a hundred times a day.³⁹ After supper, when he saw us already in bed, he would enter the church, and even though I sat up the whole night reading, I never heard him come out to get the sleep of which he was very sparing. One night I casually saw someone whipping him mercilessly. [That is, as a means of penance]. He always took his food without salt, and with mixtures of herbs which made it more distasteful. No one ever saw in him any vice whatsoever, for the discovery of lands and the conversion of souls had purified him. These, then, are the virtues of Father Kino: he prayed much, and was considered as without vice. He neither smoked nor took snuff, nor wine, nor slept in a bed. He was so austere that he never took wine except to celebrate mass, nor had any other bed than the sweat blankets of his horse for a mattress, and two Indian blankets [for a cover]. He never had more than two coarse shirts, because he gave everything as alms to the Indians. He was merciful to others, but cruel to himself. While violent fevers were lacerating his body, he tried no remedy for six days except to get up to celebrate mass and to go to bed again. And by thus weakening and dismaying nature he conquered the fevers.

³⁹ The allusion is to the name of the mission, *Nuestra Señora de los Dolores*.

Is there any wonder that such a man as this could endure the hardships of exploration?

Kino died at the age of sixty-seven, at Magdalena, one of the missions he had founded, and his remains are now resting at San Ignacio, another of his establishments. His companion in his last moments was Father Agustín de Campos, for eighteen years his colaborer and for another eighteen years his survivor, as I recently learned from the church records of San Ignacio. Velarde describes his last moments in these terms:

Father Kino died in the year 1711, having spent twenty-four years in glorious labors in this Pimeria, which he entirely covered in forty expeditions, made as best they could be made by two or three zealous workers. When he died he was almost seventy years old. He died as he had lived, with extreme humility and poverty. In token of this, during his last illness he did not undress. His deathbed, as his bed had always been, consisted of two calfskins for a mattress, two blankets such as the Indians use for covers, and a pack-saddle for a pillow. Nor did the entreaties of Father Agustín move him to anything else. He died in the house of the Father where he had gone to dedicate a finely made chapel in his pueblo of Santa Magdalena, consecrated to San Francisco Xavier. . . . When he was singing the mass of the dedication he felt indisposed, and it seems that the Holy Apostle, to whom he was ever devoted, was calling him, in order that, being buried in his chapel, he might accompany him, as we believe, in glory.^{39a}

The words of that eloquent writer, John Fiske, in reference to Las Casas, Protector of the Indians, are not inapplicable to Father Kino. He says:

* In contemplating such a life all words of eulogy seem weak and frivolous. The historian can only bow in reverent awe before . . . [such] a figure. When now and then in the

^{39a} I have seen no confirmation of Father Benz's story that Kino was killed by rebel Indians. From what is said here it seems altogether improbable. See *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. viii, 660.

course of centuries God's providence brings such a life into this world, the memory of it must be cherished by mankind as one of its most precious and sacred possessions. For the thoughts, the words, the deeds of such a man, there is no death. The sphere of their influence goes on widening forever. They bud, they blossom, they bear fruit, from age to age.

THE FAVORES CELESTIALES

This Introduction, however, is not concerned alone with the history of Father Kino's work, but also with the bibliography of his personal writings relating to his career in America. My investigations in foreign archives have enabled me to improve that bibliography in three directions: (1) By extension, through bringing to light items not hitherto known by modern scholars, or, if known, not known to be extant; (2) by curtailment, through the elimination of titles ascribed to Kino which should be accredited to others;⁴⁰ and through the identification of titles which have been regarded as distinct but which in fact refer to the same work, and are therefore duplicates; (3) by making known the original manuscripts in cases where formerly only imperfect copies have been available. But within the space at my command it would be impossible to treat adequately all three of these phases, or even one of them, and I shall therefore devote it chiefly to the discussion of the most important single item of Kino's writings, his lost *History*, its rediscovery, identification, and value as an historical source.

⁴⁰ The list of Kino writings has been unduly lengthened, for example, by the inclusion, as diaries by Kino, of several separate chapters of Manje's *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, cited below. This has been done in Sommervogel's *Bibliothèque*, the catalogue of the British Museum, the catalogue of the Buckingham Smith Collection in the New York Historical Society Library, Quaritch's trade catalogue, Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, vol. ii, 253, and elsewhere.

Early References to a "History" by Kino

In the works of the early Jesuit historians who dealt with New Spain there are certain references to an "Historia" (History) or "Relación" (Relation) by Father Kino which have not been satisfactorily accounted for by any of the bibliographies of Kino's writings which have come to my notice. Thus, in the Prologue to Venegas's *Noticia de la California* completed in Mexico in 1739 and published at Madrid in 1757,^{40a} it is stated by the editor that "Father Venegas, to write his History, had present . . . the Manuscript History of the Missions of Sonora by Father Eusebio Francisco Kino," etc. Similarly, Alegre, in the Prologue to his *Historia de la Compañía de Jesus en Nueva España*, which he left incomplete in 1767 at the time of the Jesuit expulsion, mentions as one of his principal sources "the relation of Sonora, by Father Francisco Eusebio Kino."⁴¹ A third Jesuit work, falling chronologically between the two already cited, mentions a Kino manuscript in such terms as to suggest at once the work referred to by Venegas and Alegre. Allusion is here made to Father Ortega's *Apostólicos Afanes*, which was completed in Mexico in 1752 and published at Barcelona in 1754.⁴² Ortega cites, as his main reli-

^{40a} *Noticia de la California* . . . sacada de la Historia Manuscrita, Formada en Mexico año de 1739 por el Padre Miguel Venegas, etc. (Madrid, 1757). An English version of this work was published at London in 1759 as *A Natural and Civil History of California*, two volumes.

⁴¹ "La de Sonora, por el padre Francisco Kino," the antecedent of *la* being *relación*. See *Historia de la Compañía de Jesus en Nueva España que estaba escribiendo El P. Francisco Javier Alegre al Tiempo de su Expulsion* (Mexico, 1841), vol. i, "Prologo," p. 3.

⁴² *Apostólicos Afanes de la Compañía de Jesus Escritos por un Padre de la Misma Sagrada Religion de su Provincia de Mexico*. This work was completed in Mexico by Father Joseph Ortega, and published anonymously at Barcelona in 1754. A reprint was published by Manuel de Olaguibel in Mexico in 1887 as *Historia del Nayarit, Sonora, Sinaloa y ambas Californias*.

ance for his treatment of Kino's career, what he several times calls a "Relación" (Relation) by Father Kino, and to which he once refers as a *legajo* (bundle) of Kino's papers "in which his expeditions, undertakings, and discoveries are coördinated."⁴³

In the foregoing works, it is seen, we have three specific references to a history, or relation, by Kino. The editor of Venegas calls it "the Manuscript History of the Missions of Sonora," Alegre "the relation of Sonora," and Ortega a relation, or papers, "in which his expeditions, undertakings, and discoveries are coördinated." No such work has been known to modern scholars, I believe, and, so far as I have been able to discover with the resources at my command, the references by Venegas, Ortega, and Alegre are the only ones to a history of Sonora or to a work of that nature made by anyone who claims to have used it, although it is possible that there may be others which have not come to my notice. It will be seen that the latest of these references was made as early as 1767, or nearly a century and a half ago.⁴⁴

For the identification of the author, see the "Prologo" to the 1887 edition. This edition does not contain the "Prologo y Protesta del Autor" found in the original edition, copies of which are in the library of Santa Clara College, California, and the Bancroft Library at the University of California. For references to the Kino manuscript used by Ortega, see *Historia del Nayarit*, 301, 303, etc.

⁴³ "A la Pimeria Alta, cuyas malas y buenas calidades quedan brevemente dibujadas, enviaron los superiores al padre Eusebio Francisco Kino; y habiendose encontrado un legajo de sus papeles en que están coordinados sus viajes, empresas y descubrimientos, será muy conveniente que su memoria en suscita relación se conserve en esta Historia" [*Historia del Nayarit*, 301-302]. Again, "El mismo apostólico sábio jesuita en sus papeles se refiere á varios que de sus descubrimientos ha remitido, ó á Roma . . . ó á Mexico" (*ibid.*, 302).

⁴⁴ A reference was made in 1792 by one who had seen it. This was Father Figueroa, who in that year compiled the manuscript collection called *Memorias para la Historia de Nueva España*, consisting of thirty-two volumes. In volume xvii he copied Kino's diary of 1683-1685. Incident thereto

Conjectures of Modern Writers

Nevertheless, a few modern authors have noticed the allusions in the old Jesuit histories, and it is interesting to see what they have thought they meant. The earliest conjecture which I have seen as to their meaning is that made by Beristáin y Souza, in his *Biblioteca Hispano-Americana Septentrional*, first published in Mexico in the period 1816-1821. Commenting in that work upon Alegre's reference, Beristáin conjectured that the so-called "Historia" by Kino was "perhaps nothing else," to use his own words, than Kino's diaries, letters, and reports, otherwise known, taken collectively. "Or," he says, "it may be the relation which was brought to my notice by my inquisitive friend, Don José María

he made the following comment: "Among the manuscript papers of the secret archive of the extinguished province of the Company of Jesus of New Spain we found some in the very handwriting of the apostolic man Francisco Kino. They detail at great length some of the expeditions which, on various occasions, this same father undertook for the discovery and conversion of the barbarian heathen living in the *barrancos* and *rancherías* which extend toward the Sea of California. The greater portion of the papers written by Father Kino furnished material for the work which, under the title of *Afanes Apostólicos*, was printed in Barcelona by the Company of Jesus in 1754. Since they were communicated to the public in this way, it is seen that they have no place in this collection, except the diary that follows, which is not included in that work. It contains, indeed, detailed notices of the discovery and conversion of many *rancherías* of heathen which are not distinctly treated of in the *Apostólicos Afanes*." This note was published in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico* (fourth ser., Mexico, 1856, tomo i, 403), as an introduction to Kino's "Tercera Entrada," to which Figueroa refers. It is clear, therefore, that Father Figueroa saw the papers to which the other authors referred, but that, on the other hand, he did not recognize their unity or their exact relation to the *Afanes*.

Clavigero, *Historia de la Antigua ó Baja California* (Méjico, 1852), in the "Prefacio del Autor" says of Venegas: "*aprovechándose de las cartas de los misioneros, y especialmente de los padres Salvatierra, Piccolo y Ugarte, que fueron de los mas celebres y antiguos[,] de la historia manuscrita de Sonora, compuesta por el infatigable padre Kino, etc.*" He evidently took this from the "Prologo" of Venegas, and had no personal knowledge of the "historia manuscrita" by Kino.

de la Riba y Rada." This relation, he explains, was the "Relación diaria" of 1698, now slightly known but which Beristáin evidently had never seen.⁴⁵

The De Backers, in their monumental *Bibliothèque*,⁴⁶ published at Liège, 1869-1876, follow Beristáin, and, favoring the latter of his alternative conjectures, query with respect to the Kino "Historia," as cited by Alegre, "is it different from C [the "Relación diaria"]?" The Sommervogel edition of the De Backer, printed as late as 1893, contains the same query without adding new light.

In the meantime Bancroft, writing in 1884, made a somewhat different conjecture, and one that was not without some shrewdness, although quite wide of the mark. It will be remembered that Ortega states that in writing the *Apostólicos Afanes* he made use of a "relación" by Father Kino. Noting this statement, Bancroft says, "Venegas refers to a Ms. Historia de Sonora by Kino, referring to the letters embodied in the *Apostólicos Afanes*." A little farther on in the same work Bancroft says of the *Afanes*, "Libros ii and iii relate to the Jesuit work in Pimería, and the former almost exclusively to Kino's achievements down to 1710, being in substance as is believed Kino's own letters on the subject. It may be regarded probably as the *Historia de Sonora* vaguely alluded to by several writers as having been left in Ms. by Kino." Again, he says of Manje: "His reports have fortunately been preserved . . . being often more satisfactory than even Kino's letters as embodied in the *Apostólicos*

⁴⁵ The evidence that he had not seen it is the fact that he copies from another source a peculiarity of title which is not found in the original.

⁴⁶ *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Liège, 1853-1861), vol. v, 367-368. See Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus, Première Partie*, vol. iv, 1044, and Addenda, xii; and vol. ix, 548.

Afanes." In his *Arizona and New Mexico*, published in 1888, he states unequivocally that the *Afanes*, or a part of it, is made up "mainly of Kino's letters."⁴⁷

And thus, to summarize, it has been conjectured that the "Historia" referred to by the early writers was (1) merely Kino's letters "as embodied in the *Apostólicos Afanes*," or (2) his letters, diaries, and reports taken collectively, or (3) the single diary of 1698. In all these cases there is an implied disbelief in the existence of a History, in the sense of a compilation or treatise.

The Discovery of the Favores Celestiales

This word of Bancroft, excepting Sommervogel's repetition of the De Backers's query, seems to be the last that has been said upon the subject up to the present. But now mystery is dispelled and conjectures are made superfluous by the discovery in the archives of Mexico of what is clearly the "Historia" or "Relación" to which Venegas, Ortega, and Alegre referred. The complete title of the work is: "Favores Celestiales de Jesus y de Maria Sma. y del gloriosissimo Apostol de las Yndias S. Francisco Xavier experimentados en las nuevas Conquistas y nuevas Comversiones del nuevo Reino de la Nueva Navarra desta America Septentrional yncognita, y Passo por Tierra a la California en 35 grados de Altura con su nuevo Mapa cosmografico de estas nuevas y dilitadas Tierras que hasta Aora havian sido yncognitas, dedicados a la Rl. Magd. de Felipo. V. mui Catolico Rey y gran Monarca de las Españas, y de las Yndias." It is referred to here as the *Favores Celestiales*.

The "Mapa Cosmografico" is not filed with the man-

⁴⁷ Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, vol. i, 190, 253, 256; *Arizona and New Mexico*, 254.

uscript and has not been seen by the present writer, unless it be the Kino map of 1701.

General Nature of the Work

The general nature of the work is readily gathered from its table of contents. It opens with a dedication to "the very Catholic Majesty of Our Lord Philip V" and the conventional "Prologue to the charitable reader." The body consists of five parts, of greatly unequal lengths, each divided into books and chapters. Part I is a consecutive account of the spiritual affairs, the explorations, the Indian troubles, and other temporal interests in Pimería Alta, with considerable attention to California, from the time of Kino's arrival in March, 1687, to November, 1699, and contains near the end a discussion of the spiritual and temporal advantages which might be derived from further conquests in "this most extensive northern portion of this North America, which is the largest and best portion of the earth." Parts II, III, and IV cover in a similar way the period from 1700 to 1707, with particular emphasis upon Kino's own exploring expeditions in Pimería Alta, along the Gila and Colorado Rivers, and along the Gulf coast. Here the chronological narrative ends. Part V was not originally written as a portion of the "Historia," but was incorporated, in Kino's last days, as a suitable conclusion. It is a report to the King, finished in 1710, the year before Kino's death, and consists of an extended argument in favor of the promotion of further conquests in California and other parts of the northern country, with a view to the establishment of a new kingdom to be called "New Navarre."

In short, the *Favores Celestiales* is a history of Pimería Alta and of explorations therein and therefrom,

with considerable attention to California affairs, for the twenty-three years between 1687 and 1710, written by the principal personage in the region during the period.

From internal evidence we learn the essential facts concerning the compilation of the *Favores Celestiales*. It was written at the request of the Father General of the Jesuit order, and is therefore official in character. The various parts were compiled at different times, during a period of more than ten years, between 1699 and 1710, and different portions of the work were forwarded to the authorities as they were completed, before the termination of the whole work. In fact, no evidence has been seen that the completed history was sent to the authorities. One striking fact is that it was all written at Kino's remote mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, in the intervals between the absorbing and fatiguing labors of the missionary and the explorer.

*The Identity of the Favores Celestiales with the
"Historia"*

A careful study establishes beyond the shadow of a doubt the identity of the *Favores Celestiales* with the "History" or "Relación" used by Venegas, Ortega, and Alegre. A detailed comparison shows that in the part dealing with Kino's life work, Ortega's *Apostólicos Afanes* is little else than a summary of the *Favores Celestiales*, and not always a critical summary at that, though in general very good. In the order of presentation, the former follows the latter throughout, while there are innumerable evidences of word and phrase borrowing. The two other writers, Venegas and Alegre, are so brief in the ground covered by the *Favores Celestiales* that it is less easy to detect borrowing, but in

Venegas a few instances are so palpable as to leave no doubt. With respect to Alegre, it appears that while he had the *Favores Celestiales* at hand, in the main he followed Ortega's condensation of it, rather than the original.

Its Value as a Source

Our primary interest in the *Favores Celestiales*, of course, is to know its value as an historical source. To determine this, it is necessary to analyze its contents in the light of the hitherto extant sources for the different periods and subjects which it covers. The results of an exhaustive examination of that nature can only be intimated here, and this mainly in a quantitative way.

1. In the first place, the *Favores Celestiales* is a continuous account of an entire historical movement of great importance, covering a period of more than twenty years, from the pen of the principal actor. In this respect it has no known rival, and its value is obvious. Next to it in rank from this standpoint is Libro II of Manje's *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, of which more later. Even if all the facts which the *Favores Celestiales* contains could be gleaned from other sources, it would still, from its personal associations, have the highest intrinsic value.

The worth of such a treatise, to be sure, is greatly dependent upon the author's method of work. That Kino wrote from the sources, and kept close to them, and thus fulfilled one important condition, is evidenced by the fact that in the *Favores Celestiales* he quotes from about two hundred documents, giving some in their entirety, and citing others. He must have had at hand and drawn upon the correspondence of many years. Numerically, the larger portion of the docu-

ments quoted are letters from his superiors and associates, but there are also, quoted at length, seven diaries of exploring expeditions, chiefly within what is now the United States. Nearly all of these diaries, and the whereabouts of quite all, I believe, have been hitherto unknown.

2. In the second place, the discovery of the *Favores Celestiales* discloses the chief source from which the extant secondary works are drawn; for, as it has been said, it now appears that Ortega's *Afanes*, which has represented the maximum of our information, is merely a summary of the *Favores Celestiales*, while Venegas and Alegre, still briefer, depended directly or indirectly on the same source. More recent accounts of Kino's work have all been drawn mainly from Ortega, Alegre, Manje, and Venegas.

Recurring at this point to Bancroft's conjecture, it is now seen that while the *Afanes* is not composed of Kino's own letters, to any important extent, and that the "Historia" (i.e. *Favores Celestiales*) is by no means identical with the *Afanes* (or with Book II of it, if that is what Bancroft meant to say); yet Bancroft rightly concluded that the *Afanes* was founded on a wealth of original documents, and that by the "Historia" and the "Relación" Ortega, Venegas, and Alegre all referred to the same thing, whatever it was.

3. The supreme test is what the *Favores Celestiales* contains that is not found in the available primary sources, as distinguished from the secondary works. This question must be considered from the standpoint of the different periods covered by Kino, for no single generalization will hold for all periods.

For the history of Pimería Alta from the time of Kino's arrival there in 1687 to the coming of Manje late

in 1693, our main reliance has hitherto been the secondary works of Ortega, Venegas, and Alegre, none of whom was an eye-witness or even a contemporary, and the earliest of whom wrote many years after the close of the period designated. Very few contemporary documents for these years—almost none by Kino—have been known. Thus the *Favores Celestiales* is not only the principal source of our secondary accounts, but practically the only important primary source for the period. It is not surprising, therefore, that, besides greatly enlarging our information, it corrects many errors that have become current, and puts on a solid footing a number of important statements hitherto uncertain or skeptically regarded, with reference to early explorations within the United States.⁴⁸

For the period extending from 1694 to 1701, inclusive, our most important single source has been the account by Manje, commander of Kino's military escort on several expeditions. For this compilation Bancroft improvised the title, *Historia de Pimería Alta*,⁴⁹ etc.

⁴⁸ To this period Kino devotes two books, entitled "Book I, First Entry into Pimería, and the beginnings of its Spiritual and Temporal Conquest, and of its Conversion to Our Holy Catholic Faith," and "Book II, Visit and Triennium of the Father Visitor Juan Maria Salvatierra, 1690, 1691, 1692." From the founding of Mission Dolores, in March, 1687, to January, 1691, very little has hitherto been known of Kino's doings. Thus Bancroft writes that his "subsequent movements for several years are not recorded in detail," and that "he kept on alone and before 1690 had fine churches in each of his villages (*North Mexican States and Texas*, vol. i, 253). Again, in his *Arizona and New Mexico* [p. 352], Bancroft says: "For six years he toiled alone, till fathers Campos and Januske came in 1693." But the *Favores Celestiales* contains several chapters on this dark period. It tells us, too, that Kino did not work alone all the time, as has been supposed, but that Fathers Luis María Pineli, Antonio Arias, Pedro de Sandoval, and Juan del Castillo "came in and accomplished some good in this Pimería," stating specifically where each worked (see volume i, 116). These are but illustrations of numerous ways in which this first portion of the *Favores Celestiales* will correct and enlarge our information for the period.

⁴⁹ *North Mexican States and Texas*, vol. i, 256.

Of it he says: "This work is composed of Manje's diaries given literally, but connected apparently by some editor whose name is unknown." But the original manuscript, which, also, I had the good fortune to discover, shows that it is Libro II of a work called *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, and that the unknown editor was Manje himself. The work extends to 1721, but is relatively unimportant for the current of events after 1701.⁵⁰ Of this relation it has been said that its only rival for the period under consideration is the *Apostólicos Afanes*;⁵¹ and in the absence of the source from which the *Afanes* was drawn, this opinion was correct. But we now have that source, and the assertion no longer holds.

A careful comparison shows that the *Favores Celestiales* supplements the *Luz de Tierra Incógnita* in many important particulars, only a few of which can be mentioned. In general, it emphasizes mission affairs, while Manje's work gives relatively more attention to military events. With Manje at hand, Bancroft was constrained to say of Kino's first visit to Casa Grande, in 1694—the first unquestioned expedition thither on record—"No diary was kept, and our knowledge is limited to the bare fact that such an entrada was made."⁵² But

⁵⁰ A copy of Libro I is in the Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico (1720, 1 vol. octavo, Ms.). This work covers the history of discovery in the northwestern part of New Spain, and particularly in Pimeria Alta before Manje's day. It contains at the end a copy of Kino's diary of 1698, of which the original was discovered by me in another archive. Libro II published in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, ser. iv, tomo i (Mexico, 1856), without title, is a continuation of this work, a fact that has never before been noted, so far as my knowledge extends. A copy of Libro I is in the Peabody Museum, and is listed among the Bandelier transcripts in *Report of the United States Commission to the Columbian Historical Exposition at Madrid, 1892-1893*, 326.

⁵¹ Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 354.

⁵² *North Mexican States*, vol. i, 259; see *Arizona and New Mexico*, 355.

the *Favores Celestiales* devotes a chapter to the visit,⁵³ short, it is true, but nevertheless very enlightening. Kino embodies in his account of the period designated, and especially of the events of 1695, many original letters not given elsewhere, to my knowledge,⁵⁴ and devotes several chapters to important happenings of 1696, 1697, and 1698 not touched at all by Manje. For one exploring expedition of 1699 and another of 1701 Kino parallels Manje's diary with his own, while for two expeditions of 1700 and one of 1701 not treated at all by Manje he gives diaries. It has already been noted that most of these diaries have not only been unavailable but also unknown to modern scholars. Manje, on the other hand, supplies diaries of three expeditions made in 1694, one in 1697, and one in 1699 of which Kino gives only secondary accounts, based, apparently, on his own diaries.

For the period from April, 1701, to Kino's death, in 1711, the lack, hitherto, of primary sources, has been as great as for that before 1694, while the *Favores Celestiales*, fortunately, is much fuller for this period than for the former. Our main reliance here, as there, has been the older secondary histories already mentioned, especially the *Afanes*. This work, hitherto much the fullest account of the period, devotes to it some twelve thousand words, while the *Favores Celestiales*, besides being the source of all that the *Afanes* contains, devotes to the same period some seventy-five thousand words, or

⁵³ Parte 1, Libro II, Capítulo VIII: "Entrada o Mision al Norte y al Nortueste de mas de 100 leguas hasta al Rio y casa grande y descubrimiento de las dos Nuevas Naciones la opa y la Coco Maricopa." The spelling of "Nortueste" illustrates one of Kino's peculiarities of composition alluded to on a previous page.

⁵⁴ Libros III and IV, comprising thirteen and six short chapters, respectively, are devoted entirely to the work and martyrdom of Father Saeta and the Indian troubles following that event.

six times the space. It is here, perhaps, that its distinctive value for narrative history is greatest, in view of the brevity of other accounts of the events of these years. The chronological treatment of events extends in the *Favores Celestiales* only to 1707. Among the notable source items incorporated for this period are four diaries, none hitherto accessible, and the "Informe" of 1710, which is cited by Ortega, but whose whereabouts and contents apparently have been unknown to modern scholars.

The *Favores Celestiales* will not be studied least, perhaps, for the light which it throws upon the question of the peninsularity of California and upon Kino's ambitious visions of northward progress of the Jesuit missions and the Spanish arms. In addition to the narratives and the diaries which it gives of numerous explorations made to get new light upon California geography, the *Favores Celestiales* devotes a chapter to the discussion of Kino's conclusions concerning it.⁵⁵

LISTS OF FATHER KINO'S WRITINGS

Having made the foregoing general statement regarding the writings of Kino incorporated by him in the *Favores Celestiales*, their relative importance may be made clearer by enumerating them in a list beside one of those hitherto known and available to modern scholars. A tentative list of such writings, eliminating all duplications, all titles of doubtful authenticity, and all unpublished manuscripts whose whereabouts has not been ascertained, is given below. The process by

⁵⁵ Parte II, Libro IV, Capitulo I. Mr. I. B. Richman, for whose *California under Spain and Mexico* the present writer gathered all the Mexican archive materials, made some slight use of the *Favores Celestiales* in the form of the writer's translation. His statement (*op. cit.*, 387) that "portions more or less complete are to be found in various Ms. collections and in print" is based on the mistake of confusing Manje's *Luz de Tierra Incognita* for a work by Kino.

which it was derived need not be stated here. A number of titles given by Sommervogel, Beristáin, and others, will be missed, but, as has been indicated, those lists are greatly confused, and when critically studied many of the items disappear. It is to be understood, however, that the list given here is not considered as by any means final.

A. Kino writings hitherto available

Exposicion Astronomica de el Cometa (Mexico, 1681).

Tercera Entrada. en 21 de Diciembre de 1683.

Printed in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, ser. iv, tom. i, 405-468. Original Ms. in the archives of Mexico.

Une lettre. Oct. 5, 1684.

So cited by Sommervogel, as printed in Scherer's *Geographia hierarchica*. Monachii, 1703. As a matter of fact, the extract is not a single letter, "but a gathering of several letters" of Kino.

A letter of May 13, 1687, "an einen unbenannten Priester."

Quoted in "Brief Patris Adami Gilg," in Stöcklein, *Neue Welt Bott*, 1726.

Relacion del estado de la Pimeria que remitte el Pe. Visitador Horacio Polici: y es copia de Carta que le escribe el Capitan Dn. Christoval Martin Bernal. Dec. 3 and 4, 1697.

Printed in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, ser. iii, tom. iv, 797-809. Original Ms. in the archives of Mexico.

Colocasion de nuestra Sa. de los Remedios en su nueva capilla de su nuevo pueblo de las Nuevas Conversiones de la Pimeria En 15 de Setiembre de 98 as. Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, Sept. 16, 1698.

Printed under a wrong title in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, ser. iii, tom. iv, 814-816. The title given above is that of the original Ms. in the archives of Mexico.

Carta del padre Eusebio Francisco Kino, al padre visitador Horacio Policio, acerca de una entrada al Noroeste y mar de la California, en Compañia del Captain Diego Carrasco, actual teniente de esta dilatada Pimeria, que fue de ida y vuelta mas de trescientas leguas, a 22 de setiembre de 1698. Signed at Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, Oct. 18, 1698.

Printed in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, ser. iii, tom. iv, 817-819. The above title is that of the original Ms. in the archives of Mexico.

Relacion Diaria de la entrada al nortuesta que fue de Yda y Buelta mas de 300 leguas desde 21 de setiembre hasta 18 de Octubre de 1698. Descubrimiento del desemboque del rio grande hala Mar de la California y del Puerto de Sa. Clara Reduction de mas de 4000 almas de las Costas Bautismos de mas de 400 Parbulos 1698. Con Enseñanzas y Experiencias.

Unprinted. The above title is from the original in the archives of Mexico. Known hitherto only in the form of a Ms. copy at the end of Libro I of *Luz de Tierra Incógnita* in the Biblioteca Nacional.

Breve relacion de la insigne victoria que los Pimas, Sobaipuris en 30 de Marzo del Año de 1698 han conseguido contra los enemigos de la Provincia de Sonora. May 3, 1698. Post-dated Oct. 25.

Printed in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, ser. iii, tom. iv, 810-813. The above title is from the original Ms. in the archives of Mexico.

Paso por tierra a la California y sus Confinantes Nuevas Naciones, etc. 1701.

This is Kino's famous map of Pimería Alta, which has been printed in many editions.

The above list, including ten titles, and comprising three letters, two diaries, three relations, and one map, embraces, as has been said, all the unquestioned Kino items available to modern scholars, so far as I have been able to determine up to the present.⁵⁶ To these can now be added, from those incorporated in the *Favores Celestiales*, seven diaries, three letters, and an "informe," or report. None of these items, so far as I am aware, has been available to modern students. Some were referred to by the older historians, but have been positively declared not extant. Others have never been mentioned to my knowledge. It will be seen that the new list is longer than the old. Thus the *Favores Celestiales*, regarded merely as a source book, doubles our available Kino writings. It must be remembered, of course, that though they are given in documentary

⁵⁶ This enumeration does not account for all the manuscripts listed in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. viii, 660, since some of the titles listed there are of uncertain identity.

form, they may not be exact copies. The titles here given are in most cases chapter headings. The list is as follows:

B. Additional Kino writings incorporated in the Favores Celestiales

Entrada o Mission del Pe. Visitador Antonio Leal en la Pimeria a los Sobaipuris del Norte y a la costa del Nortueste y del Poniente de ida y buelta de 240 leguas desde 24 de ottue. hasta 28 de Noviembre de 1699 ans hai en ella 23 Bautismos, y se ven y quantan como 7000 almas.

Translated in this volume, pages 203-210.

Relacion Diaria de la Entrada al Norte en orden a descubrir camino, y passo por tierra a la California, segun muchas Personas desean escriven, y piden.

Translated in this volume, pages 230-240.

Entrada de 170. leguas al Norte y Nortueste en Busca del Passo por tierra a la California, y Descubrimto. del Caudalosissimo muy Poblado, y muy fertil Rio Colorado (que es legitimo Rio del Norte) y de las Nuevas Naciones.

Translated in this volume, pages 242-258.

Entrada (o Mission) al Remate de la Mar de la California en 34 grados del [sic] Altura Con el Pe. Rr. Juan Maria de Salvatierra.

Translated in this volume, pages 265-292.

Entrada de 200. leguas a la Nacion Quiquima de la California Alta y al muy Caudaloso, muy fertil, y muy poblado Rio Colorado, que es el legitimo, y verdadero, Rio del Norte. 1701.

Translated in this volume, pages 307-322.

Letter to Father Leal, describing the same journey. Dec. 8, 1701.

Translated in this volume, pages 322-324.

Entrada de 200. leguas del año 1702. con el muy individual Nuevo Descubrimto. del muy cierto y muy patente Passo por tierra a la California, que se reconoce no ser Ysla, sino Penisla, Feb.-Apr., 1702.

Translated in this volume, pages 335-347.

Letter to Father Leal, describing the above expedition, Apr. 8, 1702.

Translated in this volume, pages 347-362.

Mission Quaresmal de mas de 50 leguas Al Nortueste y al Poniente, desde 27 de febrero asta 20 de Marzo, de 1706 entrando A San

Ambrosio del Busanic, Al Tibutama y a Nra ssa de la Concepcion del Caborca. Feb.-March, 1706.

Translated in volume ii, 165-170.

Ynforme y Relasion de las nuevas Conversiones de esta America Septentrional, etc. Feb. 2, 1710.

Translated in volume ii, 227-271.

Letter to King Philip V, transmitting the foregoing. Feb. 2, 1710.

Translated in volume ii, 224-225.

C. Other Kino manuscripts now available

Besides the foregoing the editor of this work has procured from the Archivo General de Indias the following Kino writings hitherto not available, it is believed. They all relate to Kino's early career in America. Transcripts of each are in the Bancroft Library. The location of the originals in the archives is indicated in the Bibliography at the end of Volume II.

Letter to the Bishop of Durango. Pueblo de Nío. March 25, 1682.

Testimonio de la Poseción tomada. Puerto de Nuestra Señora de la Paz, April 5, 1683. By Eusebio Francisco Quino and Pedro Mathías Goñi. Signed by these and witnessed by Francisco de Pereda y Arze, Matheo Andrés, Martín de Verastégui.

Delineacion de la Nueva Provincia de S. Andres del Puerto de la Paz, y de las Islas circumvecinas de las California, ó Carolinas. Dec. 21, 1683.

Description de la Fortificacion y RI. de S. Bruno de Californias. 1683[?].

Letter to the viceroy. San Bruno, Dec. 6, 1684.

Letter to the viceroy. San Bruno, Dec. 8 [?] 1684.

Letter to the Bishop of Guadalajara, Torín, May 30, 1685.

Letter to the Bishop of Guadalajara, Colegio de Guadalaxara, Oct. 10, 1685.

Letter to the Bishop of Guadalajara. Compostela, November 5, 1685.

Letter to the Bishop of Guadalajara. Matanchel, Nov. 15, 1685.

Letter to the Bishop of Guadalajara, on board the Almiranta, Dec. 2, 1685.

Letter to the Bishop of Guadalajara, Casa Profesa, Feb. 15, 1686.

Petition asking prohibition of taking Indians with seals to work in mines from his prospective mission. Guadalajara, Dec. 16, 1686.

CELESTIAL FAVORS OF JESUS,

Most Holy Mary, and the Most Glorious Apostle of the Indies, San Francisco Xavier, Experienced in the New Conquests and New Conversions of the New Kingdom of Nueva Navarra of this Unknown North America; and the Land-Passage to California in Thirty-five Degrees of Latitude, with the New Cosmographic Map of these New and Extensive Lands which hitherto have been unknown. Dedicated to the Royal Majesty of Philip V, Very Catholic King and Grand Monarch of the Spains and the Indies.

TO THE VERY CATHOLIC MAJESTY OF OUR SOVEREIGN, PHILIP V

When, six years ago,⁵⁷ I received from our Father General, Thirso Gonsales,⁵⁸ a most paternal letter of the preceding year, very urgently charging me to continue to write the "Celestial Favors Experienced in These New Conquests and New Conversions," at the same time the father provincial, Francisco de Arteaga (who without my meriting it named me rector of these missions), sent me the very Catholic royal *cédula* of your Majesty, dated July 17, 1701, in printed form, and inserted in the report which, upon request of the Royal Audiencia of Guadalajara and by order of your Majesty, was made and printed by Father Francisco Maria Picolo,⁵⁹ missionary of California, concerning the prosperous condition of that apostolic conquest and conversion. And since the royal, very Catholic, and most Christian *cédula* of your Majesty so greatly favors all these new conversions, both of California and of this mainland of Cinaloa and Sonora, and of this Pimeria, through your Majesty's so piously ordering that they be maintained, extended, and encouraged by all possible means, and through your Majesty's so tenderly granting the benign license which, in the year 1697, the Señor Viceroy Don Joseph Sarmiento de Valladares gave to Father

⁵⁷ That is, in 1702.

⁵⁸ Father Tirso González was general of the Jesuits from July 6, 1687, to October 27, 1705 (*Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. xiv, 85-86).

⁵⁹ Father Picolo's report is incorporated by Father Kino in this work. See volume ii, 46-67.

Rector Juan Maria de Salvatierra and me to go to California to seek the conversion of those heathen, charging his Royal Audiencia of Guadalaxara with preparing the necessary reports, in order that in view of them such provisions should be made as might be considered proper in order to perfect the work which had been undertaken so many years before, and which is of such great service to God and to the increase of our holy Catholic faith, resolving that there should be assigned six thousand *pesos* each year from this treasury, etc., in view of all this I recognize this royal *cédula* of Your Majesty to be one of the chief celestial favors which our Lord bestows upon us, and about which I have here to write.

And having present this royal and Catholic *cédula* of your Majesty, and the said report of the prosperous condition of California and of the neighboring friends, lovers of the new conversions, a religious pen⁶⁰ answered me that it was even more important to report and write of these new conversions of this province of Sonora and of this Pimeria, since they have more profitable and fertile lands, and are of less expense to the royal estate.

Because of this very Catholic royal *cédula* of your Majesty, these conquests in this very extensive North America might be called the New Philippines of America, with the same and with even greater propriety than that with which the conquered islands of the East Indies in Asia were named Philippines in consideration of the great Catholic zeal of Philip III;⁶¹ unless your Royal Majesty prefers, as has been and is the

⁶⁰ Father Agustín Campos, missionary at San Ignacio.

⁶¹ Philip III reigned 1598-1621. The Philippines were so named as a result of the Villalobos expedition of 1543, and in honor of the prince, who became Philip II.

opinion of various persons very zealous in the service of both Majesties, that these new conquests, which are more than two hundred leagues in extent, should be decorated with the name of the New Kingdom of Nueva Navarra, as others are called kingdoms of Nueva Biscaya, Nueva Galisia, etc. For this New Kingdom of the American Nueva Navarra might unite still other neighboring kingdoms which are being conquered with those already conquered, just as the kingdom of Navarra in Europe lies between and unites the crowns and realms of France and Spain.

With all my heart, I wish that now I might have a small part of the good fortune which Father Andres Peres de Rivas had when he dedicated to Philip, the fourth of this so happy name, and your Majesty's immediate predecessor, the notable volume or history of the Triumphs of the Faith among barbarous nations⁶² (which were the new conquests and the new conversions of Cinaloa and of surrounding tribes) from the year 1590 to that of 1645, now that since then we have penetrated more than one hundred leagues further this way, as far as this province of Sonora, and more than one hundred and fifty other leagues to the Taramares,⁶³ and now that I, with only my servants and fifty or sixty or more mules and horses, in more than fifty journeys inland, made through the great mercy of our Lord during these twenty years, some of which have been fifty, sixty, and one hundred leagues and some one hundred and fifty and two hundred leagues in extent, have penetrated to the north, to the west, and to the northeast, and

⁶² The reference is to the work of Andrés Pérez de Ribas, entitled *Historia de los Triunphos de Nvestra Santa Fee entre gentes las mas barbaras y fieras del Nuevo Orbe*. Madrid, 1645.

⁶³ The Tarahumares lived east of the Sierra Madre, mainly in the present state of Chihuahua. They are of Piman stock (Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*).

particularly to the most unknown regions of the northwest, as far as the land passage to California, which I discovered in the years 1698 and 1699, and which is in the latitude of thirty-five degrees, where I discovered also the very large, extremely fertile, and most densely populated Colorado River (the true Rio del Norte of the ancients), which flows into the head of the Sea of California and reaches to the neighborhood of the hither borders of Gran Quivira.

By means of these many and repeated journeys and missions which I have made to all parts, without special expense to the royal estate, there remain reduced to our friendship and to obedience to the royal crown, and with a desire to receive our holy faith, more than thirty thousand souls in this vicinity, both in this Pima nation, which has more than sixteen thousand souls, and in the neighboring lands of the Cocomaricopas, Yumas, Quiquimas, Cutganes, Bagiopas, Hoabonomas,⁶⁴ etc. And there are many more tribes with more souls and people, where one can enter with all ease; for I have already sent them messages and discourses concerning Christian doctrine, and they have informed me, and we know, that if missionary fathers come they will follow and imitate these other nations already reduced.

In these twenty-one years, after having been missionary of California in the expedition made at a cost of more than half a million to the royal estate by the Admiral Don Ysidro de Atondo y Antillon, whom I aided in taking possession of California (passing to the opposite coast and the South Sea in the latitude of

⁶⁴ All these were tribes living near the lower Gila and lower Colorado Rivers. The Yumas, Quiquimas (Quigyumas), Cutganes (Cuchan, Kwichana), and Cocomaricopas (Maricopas) are all Yuman tribes. Hodge, our best authority on this group, regards the Hoabonomas as probably of Yuman and the Bagiopas as probably of Shoshonean stock. See the "Index" for each of the tribes.

twenty-six degrees, and holding the offices of first rector of that new conversion, vicar of the Señor Bishop of Guadalajara, and cosmographer of his Majesty), I have baptized here in these new conquests and new conversions about four thousand five hundred souls,⁶⁵ and could have baptized twelve or fifteen thousand if we had not suspended further baptisms until our Lord should bring us missionary fathers to aid us in instructing and ministering to so many new subjects of your Majesty and parishioners of our Holy Mother Church.

Since afterwards the conquest and conversion of California was suspended, I asked for and obtained permission to come to these neighboring coasts and the heathen people of this province of Sonora, which begins in the latitude of thirty-two degrees. And the father provincial, Ambrosio Oddon,⁶⁶ having named me rector of these new missions and of those of San Francisco Xavier de Sonora, and Father Juan Maria de Salvatierra as visitor of Cinaloa and Sonora, when, in the year 1691, his Reverence came to visit these new conversions of this Pimeria, we went inland for the space of a whole month and more than fifty leagues of travel. And, seeing these lands so pleasant, so rich, so fertile and able so easily to lend aid to the scanty lands of California, the said father visitor, Juan Maria de Salvatierra,⁶⁷ and I agreed to foster so far as we could

⁶⁵ It has been customary for writers to state that Father Kino baptized more than 40,000 natives, instead of 4,000. This was due to a misreading of Kino by Ortega, author of the *Apostólicos Afanes*, and whom other writers have followed.

⁶⁶ Father Ambrosio Oddon was named provincial in November, 1689, to succeed Father Bernabé de Soto. In December, 1693, he was succeeded by Diego de Almonazir, and himself became rector of the Colegio Máximo of Mexico (Alegre, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesus*, vol. iii, 68-69, 75).

⁶⁷ Father Juan María Salvatierra was the leader of the Jesuits in their great missionary work in Baja California from 1697 to 1717, part of which

the continuation of that new conquest and conversion of California, his Reverence at once making for that purpose a very favorable report. When, seven years afterwards, we obtained the desired license, which is cited in the said royal *cédula* of your Majesty, my going was prevented by the reports which the royal officials of this province of Sonora dispatched to Mexico, saying that I was needed in this extensive Pimeria, and Father Francisco Maria Picolo was sent in my place. But I, always encouraged to that end by our rather general, Thirso Gonzales, and by the father visitor, Orasio Polise,⁶⁸ from here have tried to promote the welfare of both conquests, and of their new conversions, in this most extensive and unknown North America, which seems to give thanks to the Lord by offering such an opportunity for its complete conquest and conversion, that, God helping, we shall be able to write new treatises and volumes. One of them may be called:

THE SEVEN NEW KINGDOMS. "The seven ancient, heathen, and fallen cities⁶⁹ of this unknown North America, which are being changed and reduced under the most Christian protection of the very Catholic King and great [monarch] of the Spains and the Indies, Philip V., may God preserve him."

These seven new kingdoms, in place of the seven ancient cities, might be: I, Nueva Biscaya, which lies

time he held the office of provincial in New Spain. For his work see Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries of California*, vol. i, 71-113; Alegre, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesus*, vol. iii, *passim*; Venegas (Burriel), *Noticia de la California*, vol. ii, 1-307. Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, vol. I, chap. xi, xv. A portrait of Salvatierra is printed in Engelhardt, vol. i, facing p. 80. A more pleasing one is in Alegre, vol. iii, facing p. 96.

⁶⁸ Oracio Polici was visitor in 1696. In that year and the next Kino made several journeys into Arizona, at Father Polici's order. See *post*, page 164.

⁶⁹ The allusion is to the old belief in Seven Cities in northwestern America. Columbus heard of them while in the West Indies, Guzmán sought them in Sinaloa, Fray Marcos identified them with the Zuñi pueblos which he discovered. Coronado conquered them in 1540.

to the south and southeast; II, Nuevo Mexico, which is northeast of us; III, California Baja, which lies to the southwest and west of us, and extends as far as the latitude of thirty-five degrees, with the Gulf of California between; IV, this new kingdom of Nueva Navarra, scene of these new conquests and new conversions, which are between the other new kingdoms, and about in the center or heart of all this North America; V, California Alta,⁷⁰ which lies to the west and northwest of us, from the latitude of thirty-five degrees to that of forty-five or forty-six; VI, Gran Quivira,⁷¹ which lies to the northwest of us, where the pirate English captain placed his pretended Sea of California; VII, Gran Teguayo,⁷² or Nueva Borboña, which is to the north of us, beyond the Moqui, and extends from thirty-seven or thirty-eight degrees north latitude to the Sea of the North, which Hudson discovered in the year 1612, in the latitude of fifty-two, fifty-three, and fifty-four degrees.

COSMOGRAPHIC PROOF that California is not an Island, but a Peninsula. I have just written another small treatise called "Cosmographic Proof that California is not an Island,"⁷³ but a Peninsula, and is contin-

⁷⁰ It is sometimes maintained that "California Alta," as used early in the eighteenth century, referred primarily to the upper part of the peninsula. It is clear, however, that Kino here meant distinctly the country north of the peninsula, and essentially what is now comprised in the states of California and Oregon.

⁷¹ Gran Quivira originally was sought toward the northeast of New Mexico, but later it was placed by some map makers northwest of New Mexico. For a sketch of Gran Quivira in history see Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, part ii, 346-347.

⁷² According to Hodge, Teguayo was the name of the Tewa (Tegua) country of New Mexico. In the seventeenth century, writers (*e.g.* Benavides) located it eastward of New Mexico. Escalante located the "province" in Utah (Hodge, *Handbook*) part ii, 718.

⁷³ I have never seen any reference to this document other than the present and others which Kino makes in this work. Evidently it was never printed.

uous with this New Spain, the Gulf of California ending in the latitude of thirty-five degrees," and, with its map, I am sending it to Mexico to the father provincial, Juan de Estrada,⁷⁴ as his Reverence asks me to do. *

The purposes of these new conquests and new conversions and of the celestial favors that we experience in them are very much and very particularly promoted by the holy, paternal letter which I have just received from our most reverend father general, Miguel Angel Tamburini,⁷⁵ who, at the same time that he furnishes a copy of most of these writings of mine, which, by order of his predecessor, Father Thirso Gonzales, went to Rome, among other paternal, most excellent, and holy things, writes me the following:

LETTER OF OUR FATHER GENERAL. Hearing of the new discoveries and of their condition, I find much to praise in the mercies of God towards those nations that are being discovered and brought to the knowledge of Him; and our Company owes special thanks to His Divine Majesty, in that he chooses its sons as instruments of so great glory to Him. I await the other two parts of the *Celestial Favors* which your Reverence promises. All these reports are such as fill me with joy and with a desire to respond to the zeal of your Reverence and of your companions. But just as there are obstacles there, we regret that here wars, lack of intercourse, and the dangers of the seas detain our missionaries. But we all trust with great confidence in the loving providence of God; for since it has been His will, in such troubled times as these, to disclose those new regions, and to reveal to us the many souls that are scattered outside of His flock, it can not be in order that we may see them perish, but instead

⁷⁴ Father Juan de Estrada became acting provincial in November, 1707. He had been provost of the Casa Profesa of Mexico (Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, 150). He was succeeded by Father Antonio Jardon (1708-1711); he in turn by Alonso Arrevillaga, in April, 1711 (Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, 150-157).

⁷⁵ Succeeding Father Tirso González, Father Michele Angelo Tamburini was general of the Jesuit Order from January 31, 1706 to February 28, 1730 (*Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. xiv, 85-86).

to give us means and power to draw them from their forests and reduce them to pueblos and churches. Thus, I beg his divine Majesty to guard your Reverence the many years which I desire.

Your Reverence's servant, MIGUEL ANGEL TAMBURINI.

Rome, September 5, 1705.

Thus far the letter of our father general, from Rome, so laden with celestial favors. Here follow the means and forces which he says our Lord will give us to reduce so many souls to pueblos and churches. They are those which by divine grace we already have, and are as follows:

MEANS FOR THESE NEW CONVERSIONS. I. The very rich and fertile lands, abounding in wheat, maize, beans, good rivers, groves, etc. We already have made many crops, fields, and abundant harvests. II. We already have prepared many ranches of cattle, sheep, goats, and horses, not only in these new pueblos, but also very far inland, at distances of twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, and more leagues. III. We already have very good orchards and vineyards to supply wine for the masses. IV. The temperature of these new lands is similar to that of Europe. V. These new conquests are inhabited by industrious Indians. VI. The lands are mineral bearing. VII. We already have conquered these Pima Indians, who are able and accustomed to win continual victories over the enemies who infest this province of Sonora, etc. VIII. These natives on the neighboring California Gulf have very good salines, and fisheries of all kinds of palatable fish, oysters, and shrimps. They also have bezoar, the medicinal fruit called *jojoba*, blankets, cotton fabrics, curious and very showy baskets or pitchers, macaws, and feathers; and further inland there must be other means, advantages, and conveniences. IX. The harvest of the very many

souls is now so ripe that all the year they come from distances of fifty, one hundred, one hundred and fifty, and more leagues, to see me and to ask me to go and baptize them, or to procure for them priests who shall go to assist, care for, and minister to them.

And although these extensive conquests will require about fifty missionary fathers, all with their customary alms or necessary supplies, your Majesty can furnish them, without its causing any new expense to the royal estate, by merely ordering that some amounts which are now being spent by it without securing the ends for which your Royal Majesty intends them, and which are therefore not profitable, be assigned to the said fifty missionary fathers of these new conquests and new conversions, who, God willing, will better achieve both purposes, as I will state in another and separate memorial.

I conclude with what, so much to our purpose and to the purposes of all, our Holy Mother Church says, prays, and sings on the first feast day in May, that of San Felipe and Santiago, namely, *Gentiles Salvatorem videre cupientes ad Philipum accesserunt*,⁷⁶ that is, the Gentiles who wished to see the Saviour of the world drew near to Philip. And thus we see and happily experience with the very Catholic, very pious, and most Christian royal *cédula* of your Majesty, that all the innumerable Gentiles of these new conversions and new conquests of this very extensive and formerly unknown North America and Nueva Navarra, etc., in order to see, know, and love the Saviour of the world and to save themselves eternally, draw near to the most pious pro-

⁷⁶ "The Gentiles, desiring to see the Savior, came to Philip." Roman Breviary, Lesson iv, Feast of Sts. Philip and James, Apostles. Founded on *John*, xii, 20, 21. Marginal annotation in the original Ms: 1 *Maij. Noct.*
11 *Lect.* 1.

tection, happy obedience, and fortunate vassalage of Philip V," the very Catholic and most happy king and grand monarch of the Spains and the Indies, whose royal life may the Sovereign Divine Majesty preserve and prosper through long and most happy years with His celestial favors, for the temporal and eternal happiness of the European and American worlds, and of the universe of the heavens and of the earth, for evermore, amen. Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, of these new conquests and new conversions of Nueva Navarra, November 21, 1708. From your very Catholic and humble Chaplain, EUSEBIO FRANCISCO KINO.

⁷⁷ Philip V was king of Spain during the years 1700-1746.

PROLOGUE TO THE CHARITABLE READER

Father Alexandro Francisco Tivipucci, closely imitating Father Marcello Mastrilli in tender devotion to San Francisco Xavier, as shown in the *novena* of that glorious holy Apostle of the Indies, says these words:

Before Jesus and most holy Mary, I do not wish to owe this health of mine to human means and forces or to the virtues of medicine, but solely to Thee, O my most glorious protector, San Francisco Xavier.

The very same will be said by these poor sons of this Pimeria and of this mainland, and by me, and by the most loving fathers and sons of the neighboring California, *et nati natorum et qui nasentur*.⁷⁸ And we will attribute these new spiritual and temporal conquests of these new conversions to the celestial favors of these above mentioned most divine protectors of ours rather than to human agencies or to the military forces of the presidios and soldiers, etc.; and we will repeat with the royal prophet, *Dominus virtutum, ipse est rex gloriæ* (*Ps.* 23); *et exaltare, Domine, in virtute tua, cantavimus et psalemus virtutes tuas*⁷⁹ (*Ps.* 20). We will sing, O Lord, Thy greatness, Thy virtues, Thy great mercies, and Thy celestial favors and those of Thy Saints.

To the most glorious and most pious thaumaturgus and apostle of the Indies, San Francisco Xavier, we all owe very much. I owe him, first, my life, of which

⁷⁸ "And their children's children and those yet unborn."

⁷⁹ "The Lord of Hosts He is the King of Glory" (*Psalms* xxiii, 10). "Be Thou exalted, O Lord, in Thy own strength; we will sing and praise Thy powers" (*Psalms* xx, 14).

I was caused to despair by the physicians in the City of Hala, of Tirol, in the year 1669; second, my entrance into the company of Jesus; third, my coming to these missions indicated. And because I know that I owe and do not know whether or not I pay, I beg and entreat all the celestial court and all the earthly universe to aid me in giving him due thanks for so many celestial favors bestowed upon the most unworthy of all the earth.

And by celestial favors I mean here especially the wonderful mercies which, before Jesus and Mary, we receive from this most glorious apostle of the Indies, in the midst of such great human obstacles and opposition as, through Divine disposition, have been encountered in the reduction of so many souls, who exceed twenty thousand. And as Father Visitor Juan Maria Salvatierra very fittingly said during his visit to this Pimeria in the middle of January, 1691, when, at that time, we were speaking together here of the conversion of California (the Holy Church includes the same words in the prayer of the three holy kings), *Apertum est nobis ostium magnum et evidens; et adversarii multi* (*Corint 16*).⁸⁰ There has indeed been opened to us a very wide and very obvious gate to all this most extensive northern part of this North America, situated in its most pleasant and most fertile temperate zone; and, moreover, human means have been so lacking that many times those whose duty it was to aid us have hindered us, and those who were our friends have become our enemies, placing many obstacles in the way of everything and trying to make light of the whole affair.

All the good is due to spiritual agencies: to these ce-

⁸⁰ "A great and evident door is opened unto us; and there are many adversaries (*Ostium enim mihi apertum est magnum et evidens; et adversarii multi.*" I Cor., xvi, 9).

lestial favors of Jesus and Mary and San Francisco Xavier; to all of the holy convent of Nuestra Señora de los Reyes of Seville, Spain; and to all of the holy convent of San Joseph de García in the imperial City of Mexico, as is attested by their long papers and catalogues, prints, and vellums, in which they note for us the holy aids of fervent and continuous prayers, voluntary penances and devotions, and pious works, by which these holy communities and many and various other servants of our God, both men and women, are pleased to commit to his Divine Majesty the good and happy promotion of these new conversions. And, thanks to the Most High, by means of the celestial favor of this very wonderful and pacific Christian charity, more will be attained now than by ordinary human agencies and by the military labors of arms and of wars, just as, in speaking of Rome, Pope Saint Leo, in the first sermon of St. Peter and St. Paul, declares in these words, *Quamvis enim multis aucta victorijs ius ynperii tui terra marique protuleris minus tamen est quod tibi bellicus labor subduxit quam quod Pax Christiana subiecit.*⁸¹

During all these years the Señor commander of the arms of these provinces himself, Don Domingo Jironza Petris de Cruzatte,⁸² has wished to avail himself of his

⁸¹ "For though thou (O, Rome), increased by many victories, didst once spread the right of thy power over land and sea, still the toil of war won less for thee than what Christian peace subdued" (Roman Breviary, Fifth Lesson, Feast of Sts. Peter and Paul). The entire passage refers to the spread of Christian Rome's influence. The substitution of *subduxit* for *subdidit* shows that the quotation was from memory.

⁸² Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzat (or Cruzate) was sent by King Carlos II in 1680 as *visitador* of the Leeward Island with a force of fifty men and the rank of captain of infantry, and with orders to the viceroy to provide him an office in reward for services in the wars against Portugal. He was made alcalde-mayor of Mestitlán, a province near Mexico City, and some two years afterward became governor of the revolted province of New

very Christian devotion toward his great patroness, Nuestra Señora del Pilar, and of other pious works, spiritual exercises, charitable plans, Christian gifts, and very Catholic reasoning with these natives of Pimeria, rather than of violent and bloody wars. By the former means the Pimeria has been reduced, and at the same time the hostile Jocomes and Janos have been destroyed, and this tormented province of Sonora relieved, repaired, and made quiet and peaceful. Who can doubt now that all these are the agencies, unexpected and un-hoped for, with which, as a few years ago another father visitor prophesied so correctly, these missions of Sonora were to reform and give peace to these provinces?

Let thanks, then, be given to the Most Holy Trinity, thanks to Jesus and most holy Mary, thanks to the most glorious apostle of the Indies, San Francisco Xavier, and to all the celestial court, for all the celestial favors that we have received and are receiving in these new spiritual and temporal conquests and conversions; thanks for the similar matchless benefits that we hope to receive in the future, in the highest, the most lucra-

Mexico. He ruled "con aplauso" till 1686, made several campaigns against hostile Indians, but failed to reconquer the province. Again becoming governor of New Mexico (1689-1691) he made renewed attempts to reconquer the province, but failed, although in the struggle at Zia he left six hundred Indians dead on the battle-field. Before the king had heard of Jironza's victory he was replaced by Diego de Vargas Zapata. In a royal *cédula* of June 21, 1691, the king thanked him for his services, conceded him the robe of the three military orders, and ordered that he be retained in New Mexico if Vargas had not taken possession. In 1693 he was made commander of the newly established *Compañía Volante* of Sonora and *alcalde-mayor* of the province, with the capital at San Juan Bautista. His nephew, Juan Matheo Manje, was made ensign of the company and later lieutenant *alcalde-mayor*. During his rule (1693-1700) Jironza made numerous campaigns against the marauding Indians, and was much esteemed by the Jesuit Fathers, while Manje became Kino's principal soldier associate. See Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*; Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, vol. i, 255-256, 262, 272-274.

tive, and most happy ministry of all ministries in the world. This is the happy reward for preaching the gospel in these apostolic undertakings, as was put so clearly by the Venerable Father Pedro de Belasco, on being called by his superiors to leave the new conversions of Sinaloa, where he was working so gloriously, in order to go to Mexico to teach the arts. He told them that he would have them consider the injury that would be done to the Holy Writ, which was taught by the Son of God and read by His apostles and disciples, if they took him away from teaching and reading it to those needy tribes merely to employ him with the earthly maxims of a heathen philosopher; that it would be a mortification to him to leave the book of the Gospels for the books of Aristotle, the preaching of Christ for the teachings of Porphyry, the explanation of the catechism of sound and eternal truths for the categories of vain and futile sophistries; that they should consider before God whether it would not be a shame if the languages which he had already learned and which another could not learn so quickly, and which could be used in catechizing heathen and in teaching Christian people, should go to waste, to the spiritual injury of so many people, merely in order to occupy himself in reading what many others in the province could already do; that he was not needed; that he had come from the missions not to leave them, but to make known their needs and his strong desire to return to them; but that he was ready to do whatever obedience might require of him, before God. Thus far the Venerable Father Pedro de Velasco, who returned to his famous missions.

Now, O Sovereign Creator of heaven and earth, who, with Thy infinite and most divine love, and with Thy most high celestial providence, ever surest, sweetest,

and gentlest disposition, hast permitted or caused these human obstacles and contradictions, *ludens in orbe terrarum*,⁸³ and with equally loving, pious, and fatherly affection hast protected and dost protect us with so many celestial favors, permit not in the future that there should be so great forgetfulness of Thy most divine and most holy name in these extensive unknown lands, *Nunquid cognosentur in tenebris, mirabilia tua aut justitia tua in terra oblivionis?* (Ps. 87).⁸⁴ Grant that Thy evangelical workers may come, and that, with Thy celestial favors and with their apostolic toil, all these tribes, especially the many neighboring ones of this North America, may be brought to holy knowledge of Thee and of Thy most divine love, in order that they may praise Thee with Thy chosen ones, the saints of the celestial court throughout all eternity, *Vt cognoscamus in terra viam tuam, in omnibus gentibus salutare tuum, confiteantur tibi populi, Deus confiteantur tibi, populi omnis benedicatnos Deus Deus noster benedicatnos Deus et metuant (et diligant) te omnes finis terræ* (Ps. 66).⁸⁵ And may these benedictions please my charitable reader, as is my wish. Amen. Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, December 3, day of the glorious apostle of the Indies, San Francisco Xavier, 1699.

⁸³ "Playing in the world" (*Prov.*, viii, 31. *Ludens in orbe terrarum et deliciae meae esse cum filiis hominum*). The scriptural reference is to wisdom, but in Catholic liturgy the whole passage is applied sometimes to the Word of God, the "Verbum," and sometimes to the Blessed Virgin Mary, who has been called Seat of Wisdom.

⁸⁴ "Shall Thy wonders be known in the dark, and Thy justice in the land of forgetfulness?" (*Psalm lxxvii*, 13). The *aut* for *et* indicates again a quotation from memory. We should now write *cognoscentur* and *justitia*.

⁸⁵ "That we may know thy way upon earth, thy salvation in all nations. Let the peoples confess to Thee, O God; let all the peoples confess to Thee. May God, our own God, bless us, may God bless us. And may all the ends of the earth fear (and love) Thee" (*Psalm, lxvi*, 3, 4, 8). *Populi omnis* for *populi omnes*, as now written, and *omnes fines* for *omnes finis*. The *metuant te* for *metuant eum*, and the insertion of *et diligant*, show intentional freedom in quoting.

PART I

NEW SPIRITUAL AND TEMPOR-
al Conquests in Pimeria, of the King-
dom of Nueva Biscaya, during the
Suspension of the Enterprise of the
Conquest and Conversion of Califor-
nia; and the Events of the Twelve
Years from 1687 to 1699

BOOK I. FIRST ENTRY INTO PIMERÍA,
AND THE BEGINNINGS OF ITS SPIRIT-
UAL AND TEMPORAL CONQUEST,
AND OF ITS CONVERSION TO
OUR HOLY CATHOLIC FAITH

CHAPTER I. BECAUSE OF THE SUSPENSION OF THE
CONQUEST AND CONVERSION OF CALIFORNIA, TWO
ALMS ARE ASKED AND OBTAINED FROM THE ROYAL
TREASURY FOR TWO MISSIONARY FATHERS
FOR THIS COAST AND MAINLAND
NEAREST TO CALIFORNIA

The enterprise of the conquest and conversion of California, in which I took part for more than two years, with two other fathers of the Company, with the offices of superior, or rector, and of cosmographer of his Majesty, may God preserve him, having been suspended,⁸⁶ for twelve years and going on thirteen I have been in this extensive Pimeria, which has a length from north to south of more than one hundred leagues, reach-

⁸⁶ The reference is to the attempt of Atondo y Antillon to subdue California, 1683-1685. See Venegas (Burriel), *Noticia de California*, vol. iii, 218 *et seq.* See also references in the "Index" of the present work.

Important new material concerning the abandonment of California is contained in an *expediente* of correspondence, in the Archivo General de Indias, at Seville (A.G.I. 67-3-28. Audiencia de Guadalajara. Copy in the Bancroft Library). It contains a report on California by the Bishop of Guadalajara, February 18, 1686; Kino to the Bishop of Guadalajara, Torin, May 30, 1685; *id. id.*, Guadalajara, October 10, 1685; *id. id.*, Compostela, November 5, 1685; *id. id.*, Matanchel, November 15, 1685; *id. id.*, on board the *Almiranta*, December 2, 1685; Father Matías Goñes (Goñi) to Bishop Garabito, Port of San Ignacio, Sinaloa, September 22, 1685; Kino to the Bishop of Guadalajara, Casa Profesa, Mexico, February 15, 1686; Atondo to the Bishop of Guadalajara, Mexico, February 16, 1686. These letters give a clue to Kino's itinerary after leaving California.

ing from the province and valleys of Sonora almost to the province of Moqui, and a width of as many and even more leagues from east to west, from the land of the Jocomes, Janos, Sumas, Apaches,⁸⁷ etc., to the arm of the Sea of California. For, on the occasion of this suspension, I asked of the father provincial, who at the time was Father Luys del Canto,⁸⁸ permission to come to the heathen people of these coasts nearest to the above mentioned California, and when his Reverence said to me that there were no alms from his Majesty for this purpose, I told him that if he would give me permission I would ask them of his Excellency. He replied that I should make a report, and with it and one of his own his Reverence asked and obtained two alms for two persons. With one I came at once to this Pimeria, and with the other Father Adan Gil⁸⁹ came later to the neighboring Seris. When these alms were conceded, the fiscal of his Majesty, Don Pedro de la Bastilla, may God preserve him, asserted that these coasts would afford the best opportunity possible for continuing afterwards from here with the conquest and conversion of California. Leaving Mexico on November 20, 1686, just after Father Bernabe de Soto had come as provincial, I went to Guadalajara, whence

⁸⁷ The Janos and Jocomes, now extinct, dwelt between Casas Grandes, Chihuahua, and the Gila. Bandelier regarded them as the most southern band of Apaches, and as a composite of broken down tribes. Missions were early established among them at Janos and Carretas. See Hodge, *Handbook*, vol. i, 628; Hughes, Anne, *Beginnings of Spanish Settlement in the El Paso District* (University of California, *Publications in History*, vol. i). They became absorbed in the main Apache nation.

⁸⁸ Luis del Canto was provincial in New Spain, 1683-1686. He was succeeded by Father Bernabé Soto, long a missionary among the Tepehuanes (Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, 60-61). Soto was still ruling in November, 1689 (*ibid.*, pp. 66-67).

⁸⁹ Concerning Father Adam Gilg (or Gil), see Stöcklein, *Letters* no. 33 and no. 53. In both he speaks of Kino. See also Huonder, Anton, *Deutsche Jesuiten-missionäre des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, 108.

I set out on December 16, having obtained from the Royal Audiencia the royal provision and the inserted royal *cédula* which is given in the following chapter.⁹⁰

CHAPTER II. ROYAL PROVISION AND ROYAL *CEDULA* WHICH FAVOR THE NEW CONVERSIONS

At the suggestion of the father provincial, Luis del Canto, and of the father provincial elect, Bernabe de Soto, I asked for and obtained from the Royal Audiencia of Guadalajara, through the very Catholic zeal of the Señor president, Don Alonso Sevallos y Billa Gutierrez, and of the Señor judge Don Christobal de la Palma, a royal provision to the effect that during five years no natives whatever should be taken out with seals to work, from the places where I should go for their conversion. I requested this royal provision at a very opportune time, for there had just arrived from Spain the very Catholic royal *cédula* which orders that for twenty years recent converts to our holy faith shall not be taken away with seals. This royal *cédula* is dated at Buen Retiro, May 14, of the said year of 1686. It is so very Catholic and so favorable to the new conquests and new conversions that I will insert here some of its notable paragraphs.

⁹⁰ Important new data concerning Father Kino's negotiations with the authorities at Guadalajara is contained in an *expediente* of correspondence in the Archivo General de Indias (*A. G. I. Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-1-36*. Transcript in the Bancroft Library). It includes a report by the Audiencia to the King, July 23, 1686, in virtue of the real *cédula* of May 14, 1686 (quoted in next chapter); copy of the *cédula* of May 14, 1686, by which we are able to check Kino's copy; report to the Audiencia by Father Joseph de Azcarasso, Franciscan, concerning frontier missions, October 9, 1686; negotiations of the Audiencia with various missionary organizations; petition of Eusebio Francisco Kino, "missionary named for the reduction and conversion to our Holy Faith of the Seris, Huaymas, and Pimas in the province of Sonora, Kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya," regarding taking Indians under seal to work in mines, undated, but passed on by the Audiencia December 16, 1686; and petition of Father Azcarasso, undated, but considered May 2, 1687.

Well, then, our most Catholic monarch, Don Carlos II, may God preserve him many most happy years, writes as follows:

ROYAL CÉDULA. Whereas,⁹¹ in my Royal Council of the Indies information has been received that twenty-four leagues from Mexico the tribes of heathen Indians begin and that they continue without interruption through the provinces of Nueva España, Nueva Galicia, Nueva Biscaya, Nueva Mexico, etc.,⁹² and ⁹³ that care is not given to their conversion; and since this is the first and principal obligation of the ministers, to whose fulfillment they should give very particular care and attention, so that the neglect and omission which even here have been noted and experienced may not continue; since for this conversion no escort of soldiers is needed, as the natives show no resistance, and as some nations and districts assist with others; since this care is the first obligation of the Council, and is kept prominently in mind by it, as in the eighth ordinance I have charged it to do; and wishing to satisfy its conscience, in so far as it may be concerned, as I have satisfied my own by fulfilling so important an obligation, and by applying all means, endeavors, and requests possible, in order to secure the execution of a thing that is so serviceable to God, our Lord, who, in his great providence, always returns a very great and notable increase to my monarchy for what is spent from my royal estate in these new conversions; and wishing to comply with this obligation, which I regard as the principal one of my great desire, I have agreed to issue the present *cédula*, by which I order and command my viceroy of Nueva España and the presidents and judges of my Royal Audiencias of Mexico, Guadalajara, and Guatemala, and the governors of Nueva Biscaya, that as soon as they shall receive this my *cédula* they shall exercise very especial care and application to the end

⁹¹ A comparison of this copy of the *cédula* with the official copy in A.G.I. Aud. de Guad., 67-1-36, shows that Kino has omitted numerous phrases of the original, as non-essential to his point, and has paraphrased others. Two examples are given in the two notes following.

⁹² "Y pr. el nuevo Rno. de Leon asta la florida" is omitted by Kino here (see copy in A.G.I. Aud. Guad., 67-1-36).

⁹³ "Y que entre campeche y Guatemala y sus costas del mar del Norte ay otras naciones de Yndios Jentiles y que teniendoles a la puerta y tan inmediatos," omitted by Kino (see *ibid.*).

that all the tribes of heathen Indians which may be found in the district and jurisdiction comprised in the government of each audiencia and government district, may be reduced and converted to our holy Catholic faith, each one providing, in so far as concerns him, that from now on their reduction and conversion be undertaken with the mildest and most effective means that can be employed and contrived, entrusting it to the ecclesiastics most satisfactory to them and of the virtue and spirit required for so very important a matter, giving to them for the purpose the assistance, favor, and aid that may be necessary, and encouraging them in it in the best manner possible, and promising in my name to all new converts that during the first twenty years of their reduction they will not be required to give tribute or to serve on estates or in mines, since this is one of the reasons why they refuse to be converted. And I charge my ministers to notify me at once of the receipt of this dispatch, of what may be done in virtue thereof, and of the condition which this matter may be assuming, so that upon receipt of this information the orders most important for its continuation may be given, because I desire that all time possible be gained in a matter of such importance and so serviceable to God and to me. Done at Buen Retiro, May 14, 1686. I, THE KING.

CHAPTER III. MY ARRIVAL AT THESE MISSIONS OF SONORA, AND MY FIRST ENTRY INTO THIS PIMERIA, WITH THE FATHER VISITOR, MANUEL GONZALES

With this royal provision and royal *cédula*, which by its admirable Catholic zeal might well and should astonish and edify the whole world, I came in February of 1687 to these missions of Sonora, and went to Oposura to see and talk with the father visitor, who then was Father Manuel Gonzales.⁹⁴ I found in his Reverence such charity and so holy a zeal for the welfare

⁹⁴ According to Bancroft (*North Mexican States and Texas*, vol. i, 252) "Kino went first to the Ures" where he arrived "early in 1687," and where he secured interpreters. For additional data concerning his arrival in Pimeria Alta see volume ii, 76-77, where it appears that Father Belmar entered with him.

of souls, that his Reverence in person came at once more than fifty leagues' journey to this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, which is five leagues from the old mission of Cucurpe, of the rectorate of San Francisco Xavier de Sonora. On the way we passed by the mining town of San Juan⁹⁵ and saw the Señor alcalde mayor, who, with the great respectfulness that characterizes him, gave obedience to the royal *cédula* and to the royal provision. Coming by the valley of Sonora we saw the father rector of the mission or rectorate, who then was Father Juan Muños de Burgos, and by the valley and pueblo of Opodepe, Tuape, and Cocorpe,⁹⁶ divisions or pueblos then administered by Father Josep[h] de Aguilar; and on the thirteenth of March, 1687,⁹⁷ we three Fathers together came to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores del Bamotze,⁹⁸ or de Cosari, having the day before notified the natives. Their governor was absent, but, nevertheless, they received us with all love, for, months and years before they had asked for fathers and holy baptism.

⁹⁵ Real de San Juan was situated some forty leagues eastward from Dolores, and an equal distance southward of Arizpe. It was at this time the seat of government of the *alcaldía mayor* of Sonora.

⁹⁶ Cucurpe was thus the frontier mission of Sonora at this time. Indeed, this fact is stated by Kino himself in his letter of May 13, 1687. The place, still in existence, is a few miles south of the site of mission Dolores, in the San Miguel River Valley.

⁹⁷ Bancroft states that the mission of N.S. de los Dolores was "founded" on the thirteenth of March. This may be true, in the sense of going through certain formalities of the founding. But none of the sources which I have seen state that even this was the case. Kino does not; Ortega states that on the thirteenth Kino reached the place where he founded the mission (*Apostólicos Afanes*, p. 246); Alegre says that from the Real de San Juan he went to the place where he afterward founded the mission (*Historia*, vol. iii, 61). In his letter of May 13, 1687, Kino states that on the thirteenth Father González baptized one infirm Indian, but says nothing of the founding of the mission. See Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, 62, for more light.

⁹⁸ In his letter of May 13, 1687, Kino calls this place "Tschinnas de Bamuschil" (Stöcklein, *Neue Welt-Bott*, Theil i, 109).

The following day⁹⁹ the father visitor, leaving us fathers and the children with a very paternal goodbye, returned toward Oposura to the necessary occupations of Holy Week, etc., suggesting to Father Aguilar and me that we should see later if there was opportunity to go somewhat further inland to seek and find a place where a second pueblo might be founded.

CHAPTER IV. EXPEDITION TO SAN YGNACIO DE CABORICA, SAN JOSEPH DE LOS HIMIRIS, AND NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS REMEDIOS

Upon this advice of the father visitor we at once, the very same day, went inland to the west, and after going ten leagues found the very good post of Caborica,¹⁰⁰ inhabited by affable people, which by order of the father visitor we named San Ygnacio.¹⁰¹ Then, turning to the north, we found another good post, with plenty of docile and domesticated people. This place we named San Joseph de los Himires.¹⁰² To the east we found an-

⁹⁹ From this time until January, 1691, Kino's movements have been little known (see *Apostólicos Añales*, 247-249; Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, 61-73; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, vol. i, 253), and the contribution of the *Favores Celestiales* at this point is therefore highly important. It is supplemented by some details in the letter of May 13, 1687.

¹⁰⁰ Bancroft says, "It seems to have been called S. Ignacio Caborca at first, but . . . as there was another pueblo known as Caborca," etc. (Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i, 253). Is it not an error of the *Añales* that Caborica was called Caborca? Caborca is on the lower Altar River, a few leagues from the Gulf. For frequent references to this place, see "Index."

¹⁰¹ In his letter of May 13 Kino states that the name San Ignacio was given to the village which the natives called Himires. Plainly either the letter or the *Favores* is wrong, and there is no doubt that it is the letter. In that document he gives Himires as the first of the three places visited. It seems that, writing two months after the visit, he got the names of the places confused.

¹⁰² San José de los Hymeris (Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, 62); San José de Imuris, on the Rio San Ignacio, some twenty-five or thirty miles across the mountains from Dolores (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, vol. i, 253); San Joseph and Los Remedios were named on the fifteenth (Kino, Letter of May 13, 1687).

other, likewise of industrious Indians, which we named Nuestra Señora de los Remedios. It is distant from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores seven leagues, to the north.¹⁰³ In all places they received with love the Word of God for the sake of their eternal salvation.¹⁰⁴ We returned, thanks to the Lord, safe and rejoicing, to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores.¹⁰⁵ Father Aguilar went on to Cucurpe, and I began to catechize the people and to baptize children. The governor of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores came from inland and by him and others I sent to various and even remote parts of this Pimeria divers messages and friendly invitations, requesting that they should endeavor likewise to become Christians, saying that for them would be the good and the advantage, for I had come to aid them in order that they might be eternally saved.

CHAPTER V. FIRST OPPOSITION EXPERIENCED IN THIS NEW CONVERSION

Being always very much aided in everything by the great charity of Father Joseph de Aguilar, by Divine grace everything went, on the part of the natives, with entire prosperity, pleasantness, and satisfaction, and there were welcome additions,¹⁰⁶ but on the part of oth-

¹⁰³ Alegre says "seven leagues east" (*Historia*, vol. iii, 62); Ortega (*Apostólicos Afanes*, p. 246), gives it as north. Bancroft says "between Dolores and Imuris" (*op. cit.*, vol. i, 253). See "Map" and "Index."

¹⁰⁴ At this point Alegre falls into evident error, stating that later N.S. de los Dolores and San Ignacio were put into Kino's charge, the other places being abandoned (*Historia*, vol. iii, 62). Ortega (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 247) correctly states that Los Remedios and Dolores remained in Kino's charge, "*que siempre hasta su muerte administró el padre Kino.*" See *post*, page 118, where Kino states that he had already taken charge of Los Remedios in January, 1691.

¹⁰⁵ On March 26 (Kino, Letter of May 13, 1687).

¹⁰⁶ By May 13, 1687, Kino had baptized at Dolores thirty children and youths, including two sons of the cacique. Before the end of April he had built a chapel (Bethaus) and "a very poor parsonage (Pfarrhof)." (Kino, Letter of May 13, 1687).

ers there was no lack of hostility, which has endured up to the present day. A false report was despatched to the Señor alcalde-mayor of the mining town of San Juan, that these natives, on the coming of the father missionary, had moved far away. These serious but false reports reached the father visitor, Manuel Gonzales, troubling his Reverence greatly, and he wrote to Tuape, where the three fathers, Joseph de Aguilar, Antonio de Roxas, and I were holding Holy Week,^{106a} with more than one hundred Pimas of this new pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. Of the Pimas there were about forty¹⁰⁷ recently baptized infants and children, whom the Spanish ladies of the mining town of Opodepe dressed richly and adorned with their ornaments and best jewels, like new Christians, for the Procession of the Blessed Sacrament, to the great delight of all; nor was there the least truth in the pretended withdrawal of the natives, which so falsely was reported to the mining town of San Juan. All this we wrote to the father visitor for his consolation, we three fathers signing the letter.

CHAPTER VI. SECOND OPPOSITION AND DISCORD SOWN IN PIMERIA

Returning from Holy Week and Easter at Tuape to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, I went inland to San Ygnacio and San Joseph de los Himires, where in all places things were going very well, in spiritual and temporal matters, in Christian teaching, beginnings of baptisms, buildings, planting of crops, etc., but in Nuestra Señora de los Remedios I found the people so disconsolate that they said to me openly that they neither

^{106a} Holy Week in 1687 fell between March 23 and March 30.

¹⁰⁷ It seems that Kino took his neophytes from Dolores to Tuape to celebrate Holy Week. This may have been because his mission was only imperfectly established.

wished to be Christians nor to have a missionary father. On asking them why, they answered me, first, because they had heard it said that the fathers ordered the people hanged and killed; second, because they required so much labor and sowing for their churches that no opportunity was left the Indians to sow for themselves; third, because they pastured so many cattle that the watering places were drying up; fourth, because they killed the people with the holy oils; fifth, because they deceived the Indians with false promises and words, and because I had falsely said that I had a letter or royal *cédula* of the king our Sovereign, whereas I had no such letter, for if I had I would have shown it to the Señor lieutenant of Bacanuche. These chimeras, discords, and altercations disturbed me very much, but I recognized at once whence they might have come; and although the father visitor and I had shown the royal provision which I carried, with the royal *cédula* inserted, to the Señor alcalde-mayor in the mining town of San Juan, which was sufficient there, within two days (on the tenth of May) I went with the justices¹⁰⁸ of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores to the mining town of Bacanuche,¹⁰⁹ which is twenty leagues away. I showed the royal provision and the royal *cédula* to the Señor lieutenant, Captain Francisco Pacheco Zevallos, in whom I found all kindness, and told him of what had happened in Nuestra Señora de los Remedios because of the untruths which had been spread so falsely during the preceding days against the fathers. And gradually things were remedied and the calumnies of the malicious and of the common enemy hushed, and although

¹⁰⁸ These were evidently native officials.

¹⁰⁹ Bacanuche, a *real*, or mining camp, about twenty leagues northeast of Dolores and the same distance north of Arizpe and south of Cananea. It is situated on the Bacanuche River, a branch of the Sonora.

there was no lack of stories and pretended dangers from persons of little loyalty, the natives of this Pimeria became so inclined to our holy faith that from places further inland, from El Tupo, El Tubutama, and other parts, they asked for fathers and holy baptism.

CHAPTER VII. THE FATHER VISITOR, MANUEL GONZALES, VISITS THESE THREE NEW PUEBLOS OF THIS PIMERIA, FOR WHICH FOUR OTHER MISSIONARY FATHERS ARE ASKED AND OBTAINED

Because of the news of the good beginnings and of the baptisms of infants at this new mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, the father provincial, Bernave de Soto, who had been missionary for many years, was so much comforted that his Reverence wrote me that he would very willingly exchange his office of provincial for mine of missionary, in order to be able to baptize children, since in the provincial office his time was wasted, while here in the missions there was profit.

On January 19, 1689, the father visitor, Manuel Gonzales, came on his first visit to these new pueblos. He went to San Ygnacio, San Joseph, Cocospora, Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, etc., and would have gone much further inland, even to the tribe of El Soba, if the bogs caused by the spring rains¹¹⁰ and those of the River of San Ygnacio had not spoiled the roads for us and obstructed the passes. In Nuestra Señora de los Dolores he was so pleased by the structure of the church and the house which had been begun, the Christian teaching, the devotion at prayers, the book of baptisms, the singing school, the rich lands and crops, etc., that his Reverence said and wrote that he had not seen a new

¹¹⁰ The details given in this chapter are almost entirely omitted from the standard authorities, and, as will be seen, Bancroft falls into positive error in connection with the matters discussed.

mission which enjoyed, in so short a time, so many conveniences and such progress in spiritual and temporal matters. Moreover, a little later his Reverence, together with the Señor alcalde-mayor, Blas del Castillo, asked and obtained from Mexico four new fathers for this Pimeria, and assigned them to the following four new missions:¹¹¹ Father Luys María Pineli to San Ygnacio, Santa María Magdalena, and San Miguel del Tupo; Father Antonio Arras^{111a} to San Pedro del Tubutama and San Antonio de Uquetoa; Father Pedro San Doval to San Lorenzo del Saric, and San Ambrosio del Tucubabia; and Father Juan del Castillejo to Santiago de Cocospera, San Lazaro, and Santa María. They came in and accomplished some good in this Pimeria, but the opposition, obstacles, and false reports to the effect that so many fathers were not needed, since the people were very few, very much retarded and almost entirely put a stop to matters. And now enter the new government, the new father provincial, and the new father visitor.

¹¹¹ Bancroft, citing the *Apostólicos Afanes*, writes "but from the very first years exaggerated and absurd rumors of their [the Indians'] ferocity are vaguely alluded to as having kept away other padres and greatly troubled the pioneer, who, nevertheless *kept on alone* [the italics are mine], and before 1690 had fine churches in each of his villages;" (*North Mexican States and Texas*, vol. i, 253). In his *Arizona and New Mexico*, 352, Bancroft writes: "For six years he toiled alone, till fathers Campos and Januske came in 1693 to take charge of San Ignacio and Tubutama; and only eight padres besides Kino worked in this field during the latter's life, there being rarely, if ever, more than four at the same time." Ortega correctly states that the new missionaries arrived, but does not give details. He adds that they could not remain because it was judged that they were more needed elsewhere (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 247). Alegre (*Historia*, vol. iii, 74) puts under 1690 the order for the retirement of the missionaries from "Los Remedios and S. José de los Hymeris." For both of these, see "Index."

^{111a} "Arias." See *post*, page 118 and volume ii, 141.

BOOK II. VISIT AND TRIENNIUM OF THE FATHER VISITOR JUAN MARIA SAL- VATIERRA, 1690, 1691, 1692

CHAPTER I. THE NEW FATHER VISITOR, JUAN MARIA SALVATIERRA, COMES TO VISIT THE FOUR FATHERS OF THIS PIMERIA IN THEIR DISTRICTS

The new government having entered, and Father Ambrosio Oddon having come as provincial, his Reverence designated Father Juan María de Salvatierra, who was stationed in Los Chinipas,¹¹² as visitor of these missions of Sonora and Sinaloa, and me, though unworthy, as rector of this rectorate or mission of San Francisco Xavier de Sonora and of this Pimeria. His Reverence having heard so many reports for and against this Pimeria, he ordered Father Visitor Juan María Salvatierra to come and visit it and acquaint himself with it. The father visitor came to this district of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores on the twenty-fourth of December, 1690.¹¹³ He held Christmas service here and sang

¹¹² Bancroft locates the old mission of Chinipa (Chinipas) on an upper branch of the Mayo River (*North Mexican States*, vol. i, 208). Today Chinipas is the name of a branch of the Fuerte River flowing through the same general mountain region. The Chinipas mission was Salvatierra's principal station before he went to California. Chinipas is not to be confused with Chinapas, north of Arizpe.

¹¹³ Bancroft (*op. cit.*, vol. i, 254) following Alegre (*Historia*, vol. iii, 73) states that Salvatierra "met Kino at Dolores in the spring of 1691." The *Favores* thus corrects this slight mistake. At this point Bancroft falls into a more serious error, refusing to follow the authorities who had seen the *Favores* of whose existence he was unaware. Commenting on Salvatierra's visit in 1691 he says that Alegre "strangely speaks of Tubutama, Saric, and other *rañcherías* as missions already founded, although at most they could only have been visited by Kino and a few children baptized. Still more

mass in this new and capacious church, although it was not entirely completed. He then went inland for more than forty leagues, visiting this Pimeria for a month.¹¹⁴ We went in from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores to Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, a distance of seven leagues. I was already taking this pueblo under my care, for the people were still much deceived because of the discord that had been sown against the fathers. We went on to the valley and pueblo of San Joseph de los Himires, a distance of six leagues, at which place was Father Pedro de San Doval, for the time being, with seventy families. We went down to San Ygnacio, a distance of three leagues, and to Santa María Magdalena and Tupo, where Father Luys Maria Pineli was. There were many people in all these places.

We continued to San Pedro del Tubutama, a journey of ten leagues from El Tupo, where Father Antonio Arias was stationed, and found more than five hundred souls. Some of the chief men of the neighboring tribe of El Soba also came to see the father visitor, and, as we celebrated there the Pascua de Reyes, I preached to them from the text *Reges de Sabá veniunt*;¹¹⁵ and we discussed the reduction of the Pimas of El Soba, who extend on the west and northwest to the Sea of California. We proceeded to El Saric and Tucubavia, a

strangely he speaks of padres being ordered to retire from Remedios and Imuris, although there had been no padres there at all" (*op. cit.*, vol. i, 254). From the above paragraph and the statements on page 116 it is clear that Bancroft is mistaken, not to mention his temerity in trying to establish a negative by mere assertion.

¹¹⁴ From the next paragraph it is clear that the month covered Kino's trip with Salvatierra, and that Kino does not mean that Salvatierra first made a trip alone.

¹¹⁵ "Kings come from Saba" (*Isaias*, lx, 6. *Omnes de Saba venient. Psalm lxxi*, 10. *Reges Arabum et Saba dona adducent*). Both passages are used in the "grace at meals" on the feast and during the octave of the Epiphany. The intermingling of the texts is therefore quite natural.

journey of ten leagues, where we counted more than seven hundred souls, who received us everywhere with great pleasure to themselves and to us. Almost everywhere they gave the father visitor infants to baptize, and presented us with many supplies, etc.

CHAPTER II. THE SOBAIPURIS AND OTHER NATIVES COME FROM THE NORTH TO MEET US ¹¹⁶

It was our intention to turn back from El Tucubavia to Cocospera, but from the north some messengers or couriers of the Sobaipuris of San Xavier del Bac, more than forty leagues' journey, and from San Cayetano del Tumagacori,¹¹⁷ came to meet us, with some crosses, which they gave us, kneeling with great veneration, and asking us on behalf of all their people to go to their rancherías also. The father visitor said to me that those crosses which they carried were tongues that spoke volumes and with great force, and that we could not fail to go where by means of them they called us. Whereupon we ascended to the Valley of Guebavi,¹¹⁸ a journey of about fifteen leagues, and arrived at the ranchería of San Cayetano del Tumagacori, where there were some of the Sobaipuris headmen, who had come twenty and twenty-five leagues from the north. In San Cayetano they had prepared us three arbors, one in which to say mass, another in which to sleep, and

¹¹⁶ For an account of this event see Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, 73. Bancroft is in a state of doubt at this point. He says: "Kino may have crossed the line as far as Tumacácori with Salvatierra in 1691, and he is said to have reached Bac in 1692; but the records of these earliest entradas are vague" (*Arizona and New Mexico*, 355). This vagueness is now dispelled by Kino's writings.

¹¹⁷ Tumacácori (Tumagácori) is located in the Santa Cruz valley between Mission San Xavier del Bac and Nogales. The ruins of the old mission are still there. See "Map" and "Index."

¹¹⁸ For the location of Guevavi see the "Map." The ruins of the Guevavi mission were still visible when the spot was visited by the editor a few years ago.

the third for a kitchen. There were more than forty houses close together. Some infants were baptized, and the father visitor gave good hopes to all that they should obtain the fathers, the holy baptism, and the boon of their eternal salvation which they requested. When his Reverence had seen so many people, so docile and so affable, with such beautiful, fertile, and pleasant valleys, inhabited by industrious Indians, he said to me these words: "My Father Rector, not only shall the removal from this Pimeria of any of the four fathers assigned to it not be considered, but four more shall come, and by the divine grace I shall try to be one of them." We went on to the ranchería of Guebaui and to the valley and ranchería of Santa Maria, a journey of fifteen leagues, where we remained five days, catechizing and baptizing infants and adults.¹¹⁹ We then came to Cosopera, and this new pueblo was given over to Father San Doval. In all of these journeys the father visitor and I talked together of suspended California, saying that these very fertile lands and valleys of this Pimeria would be the support of the scantier and more sterile lands of California, concerning which he made a report to Mexico.¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ This passage, or more probably that in *Apostólicos Afanes*, 249, seems to be the basis for the statement of Velasco (*Sonora*, 139) that the Guevavi mission was founded during this trip (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, vol. i, 254). Manje makes it appear that Salvatierra and Kino went no further than Tucubavia on this *entrada*. As Manje's record is that of a contemporary diary, it should not be considered lightly, but here it is manifestly wrong.

¹²⁰ Clavijero states that Salvatierra's interest in California came through information given him by Father Kino regarding the natives (*Hist. de la Antigua ó Baja California*, 39). Reference is evidently made to the conferences had during this trip. See also *Apostólicos Afanes*, 250; Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, 74; and Bancroft, *op. cit.*, vol. i, 254.

CHAPTER III. REPORT OF THE CONDITION OF THIS
PIMERIA BY THE FATHER VISITOR TO THE FATHER
PROVINCIAL, AMBROSIO ODDON, AND THE
REPLY OF THE FATHER PROVINCIAL

JANUARY, 1691. We remained in Cocospera five days more, at the end of January, [16]91, catechizing and baptizing the infants and the adults who had learned the prayers and the Christian doctrine, and preparing and writing a report of what had been sent to Mexico and to the father provincial, Ambrosio Odon. He, in virtue of what the father visitor wrote and reported, and of my letter, replied to me in the following words:

I thank your Reverence from my heart for the holy zeal with which you devote yourself to the welfare of those souls, as shown by the relation or report that I have received from the father visitor, Juan Maria Salvatierra. There is no reason for growing weary because things pertaining to the service of God have their obstacles, so much the more noticeable when they are vested with zeal and founded on erring judgment.

The father visitor having left us all instructed and consoled by his holy visit to this Pimeria, his Reverence went to visit the rectorate of the Holy Martyrs of Japan, commending to me, with his holy zeal, the reduction of the Sobaipuris of the north and of the Sobas to the west, and, with respect to California, even the building of a small bark in which to go there. His Reverence went afterwards to his mission of Chinipas, while here the customary obstacles and opposition were so great that when, as usual, the Hocomes, Janos, and Sumas carried off various herds and droves from this province and its frontiers, these offenses were imputed, though falsely, to the Pimas, and their conversion and the coming of the missionary fathers were completely prevented.¹²¹

¹²¹ For the same matter see Alegre, vol. iii, 72-73, who adds the Chinarras.

CHAPTER IV. JOURNEY NORTHWARD TO THE
SOBAIPURIS

AUGUST 23, 1692. In spite of the obstacles which were present, and seeing that the whole of Pimeria was quiet, during the last part of August and the first part of September, 1692, I went in, with fifty pack-animals, my servants, and some justices, to the Sobaipuris, both of the north and of the northeast. The latter are in the valleys of the river of Quiburi, to the east, and the former are in the valley and river of Santa Maria, to the west. The journey to the former was more than eighty leagues by very level road. I found the natives very affable and friendly, and particularly so in the principal ranchería of San Xavier del Bac, which contains more than eight hundred souls.

I spoke to them of the Word of God, and on a map of the world showed them the lands, the rivers, and the seas over which we fathers had come from afar to bring them the saving knowledge of our holy faith. And I told them also how in ancient times the Spaniards were not Christians, how Santiago came to teach them the faith, and how for the first fourteen years he was able to baptize only a few, because of which the holy apostle was discouraged, but that the most holy Virgin appeared to him and consoled him, telling him that the Spaniards would convert the rest of the people of the world. And I showed them on the map of the world how the Spaniards and the faith had come by sea to Vera Cruz, and had gone in to Puebla and to Mexico, Guadalajara, Sinaloa, and Sonora, and now to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores del Cosari, in the land of the Pimas, where there were already many persons bap-

and changes Sumas to Yumas. Also *Apostólicos Añanes*, 250-251, and Bancroft, *op. cit.*, vol. i, 253-254.

tized, a house, church, bells, and images of saints, plentiful supplies, wheat, maize, and many cattle and horses; that they could go and see it all, and even ask at once of their relatives, my servants, who were with me. They listened with pleasure to these and other talks concerning God, heaven, and hell, and told me that they wished to be Christians, and gave me some infants to baptize. These Sobaipuris are in a very fine valley of the Rio de Santa Maria,¹²² to the west.

I then passed on to the other Sobaipuris, of the east, on the Rio de San Joseph de Terrenate, or de Quiburi,¹²³ who, in their chief ranchería, that of San Salvador del Baicatcan, are thirty leagues distant. Captain Coro and the rest of them received me with all kindness. It is true that I found them still somewhat less docile than the foregoing of the west.

CHAPTER V. EXPEDITION OR MISSION WESTWARD TO THE NATION OF EL SOBA, EVEN TO THE SEA OF CALIFORNIA, UNTIL CALIFORNIA ITSELF WAS SEEN

DECEMBER 11 of 1693. In the meantime, Father Diego de Almonazir came as provincial and Juan Muños de Burgos as father visitor, and from the eleventh until the twenty-fourth of December I went west to the Pima nation which they call that of El Soba, who is their chief cacique, or head and captain of these more than four thousand Indians.¹²⁴ He has al-

¹²² The modern Santa Cruz River, which flows north from the Sonora border, past Guebavi, Tumacacori, and San Xavier del Bac, and is lost in the Arizona plateau before reaching the Gila.

¹²³ The modern San Pedro River, a branch of the Gila.

¹²⁴ Ortega (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 251) regards this entry as belonging under 1692, evidently considering it out of place in the narrative. Bancroft, for reasons which he does not state, but which may be inferred, suggests that the expedition was more likely made early in 1693 (*op. cit.*, vol. i, 254).

ways been very valiant in various wars that he has had with the Pimas of the east, and since the time when, ten or twelve years ago, those of El Soba killed the governor called El Podenco, of this ranchería, now pueblo, of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, they had been very hostile to each other. Our Lord was pleased, however, that we should restore peace between them. Thereupon, I entered with Father Agustin de Campos, Capt. Sebastian Romero, and my servants, and found the people affable, except that in some places they appeared afraid, wondering at the new and white faces, which they had never seen before.

After about eight leagues' journey we came to a little peak which we named El Nasareno, and from its sum-

But the entry is evidently correct as here given, the trouble being with that in chapter vi referring to an expedition in July. Confining ourselves for the present to the *Favores* text, it is to be noted that in chapter vi, Kino uses the phrase "This same year of 93," and that chapter vii is headed "Second and Third Expeditions to the Sea of California." From these two items we would infer that Kino meant to state that only one expedition had been made to the gulf before that of February, 1694, and that this was in 1693. And there is no doubt that this was the case. But the confusion makes a somewhat extended explanation necessary.

For the expeditions of 1694 to the coast Manje's diaries, preserved in the *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, are the unquestioned authority. They make it clear that Kino and Campos had made an expedition in 1693, as Kino relates, but that *only* one had been made (Capítulo i); that after this trip Kino hastened to the Real de San Juan to get military support for the continuation of his discoveries and missionary work on the coast (Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, cap. i); and that Kino and Manje made three expeditions to the coast in 1694. The first of these was made in February, by Kino, Kapus, and Manje, when they [again?] climbed the Cerro de Nazareno and explored the coast. In March Kino and Manje made a second trip, during which the beginning of boat-building, as described by Kino, was made, while Manje explored the coast. In June they went the third time, Kino to supervise the boat-building while Manje explored. But the building of the boat was suspended by order of the Father Visitor, Juan de Burgos (Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, capítulos ii and iii).

Thus I conclude that Kino's statements in chapter v are correct; that in chapters v-vii he gives the correct number of expeditions for 1693 and 1694, but that the trip spoken of in chapter vi, as of July, 1693, was clearly that of June, 1694, and that the last one mentioned in chapter vii was that of June, 1694.

mit on the fifteenth of December we saw clearly more than twenty-five continuous leagues of the land of California, for it is not more than fifteen or eighteen leagues across to the principal ranchería. At the request of Father Antonio Leal, who was in Arispe, we named it La Concepcion de Nuestra Señora del Caborca, and his Reverence offered to our Lady the mass of the day of San Francisco Xavier for the good success of this expedition to Caborca.

CHAPTER VI. DEDICATION OF THE CHURCH OF NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS DOLORES

On April 26 of this same year of [16]93, this new church of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores was solemnly dedicated. To this ceremony came the father rector of Matape, Marcos de Loyola, the father visitor, Juan Muños de Burgos, who said mass, and Father George Lostinski, of San Ygnacio, who preached. Likewise there came very many Pimas from the north and from the west.

In July,¹²⁵ also, I went inland to the nation of El Soba with lieutenant Juan Matheo Manje, and we began the construction of a bark, cutting the timbers and some large planks.¹²⁶ The rest of the timbers, flooring, and futtocks were made here in Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, with the idea of carrying the whole bark in four parts to the sea by mules, and there to put it together, nail it, calk it, and pass to the nearby California. But afterward opposition likewise delayed and hindered matters, although our Lord was able to

¹²⁵ As stated in the note above, this was clearly the expedition of March-April, 1694, the details of which are described in Manje's diary in *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, vol. ii, cap. iii. This paragraph in Kino's Ms. is, therefore, out of place.

¹²⁶ The details of this expedition are described by Manje in his diary, *op. cit.*, cap. i.

order other things, even better, as will be seen later in connection with what is already being done in California.

CHAPTER VII. SECOND AND THIRD EXPEDITIONS TO THE SEA OF CALIFORNIA

FEBRUARY, 1694. In February, 1694, I made another expedition to the same waters of the Sea of California, in company with Father Marcos Antonio Kapus,^{126a} who was stationed in Cucurpe, and Lieutenant Juan Matheo Manje. We again saw very clearly the same California and its principal and larger hills. We named them San Marcos, San Matheo, San Juan (for the name of San Lucas is already given to the Cape of California), and San Antonio, as may be seen on the map. The natives of the nation of El Soba we found so friendly that, having come thirty, forty, and fifty leagues' journey from the north to see us, they gave us their infants to baptize.

A few months later¹²⁷ I made another expedition with Lieut. Juan Matheo Manje, to this nation and to the sea, and we discovered the good port of Santa Sabina on the day of that saint.

During these months and the preceding ones there was built in La Concepcion del Caborica a capacious earth-covered hall of adobe and earth, and wheat and

^{126a} Marcus Anton Kapps [Kapus, Kappus, Khappus] was an Austrian, born at Steinbüchel, in Krain, 1657. He entered the Jesuit order October 27, 1676; became prominent in the Sonora missions; died November 20, 1717. A letter by him dated at Mátape, June 20, 1699, is in Stöcklein, *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, num. 56, Theil ii, 86. See *ibid.*, Theil i, 100, ii, 77, vii, 78, and Huonder, *op. cit.*, p. 110; also Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*.

¹²⁷ This was evidently the third expedition of 1694, described by Manje, in his diary, *op. cit.*, cap. iii. During this journey Manje explored the coast. Lumholtz (*New Trails in Mexico*, 146-149) gives interesting data concerning Caborca, including a picture of the old church. The title of this valuable book is peculiarly inappropriate, since Lumholtz's travels were chiefly over "old trails," most of which were well known to Father Kino more than two hundred years ago. Compare his map with mine.

maize were sown for the father whom they were asking for and hoping to obtain.

CHAPTER VIII. EXPEDITION OR MISSION TO THE NORTH AND NORTHWEST FOR MORE THAN ONE HUNDRED LEAGUES, AS FAR AS TO THE RIO GRANDE AND THE CASA GRANDE, AND THE DISCOVERY OF THE TWO NEW NATIONS, THE OPA AND THE COCOMARICOPA

In November, 1694, I went inland¹²⁸ with my servants and some justices of this Pimeria, as far as the *casa grande*, as these Pimas call it, which is on the large River of Hila that flows out of Nuevo Mexico and has its source near Acoma. This river and this large house

¹²⁸ Manje was not on this journey with Father Kino, but in June, 1694, while Kino was at Caborca, Manje had explored northward from San Pedro del Tubutama, going through the native settlements of Gütubur, Saric, Busanic, and Tucubavia. He says at this point, "hasta aqui es lo mas q havia entrado o llegado 3 años antes el R. Pe. Juan Maria de Salvatierra en su Visita" (*op. cit.*, Ms. p. 26). But note *ante* that Kino gives circumstantial details of a visit with Salvatierra to Tumacácori and Guevavi. Neither does Manje mention Kino's journey of August-September, 1692 (for what reason is not clear). From Tucubavia Manje continued on to Gubo and Cups, where he heard of the Casas Grandes to the north, and where he turned southward through Moicaqui to Caborca (Diary, in Manje, *op. cit.*, 28).

In May, 1694, Lieutenant Antonio Solís went north among the Sobaipuris of the Rio de Terrenate, and crossed the Sierra del Comedio to San Xavier del Bac (Manje, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31). The importance of this chapter in the *Favores*, as placing on a solid foundation the assertion that Kino made the expedition, and as giving some of its details, is considerable. Manje makes only brief mention of the fact that the trip was made, and Bancroft is skeptical of the more complete account in the *Afanes*. Its soundness is now established (Manje, *Historia*, 34; Ortega, *Apostólicos Afanes*, 252-253; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 355; *North Mexican States and Texas*, vol. i, 259).

As has already been seen, Manje, in 1694, had made an excursion northward to Tucubavia, where he had heard of the Gila River and the Casa Grande. According to Manje, Kino was skeptical of the truth of the story, until it was verified by some Pimas of San Xavier del Bac who went to Dolores to visit him, and who accompanied him as guides on the expedition (Manje, *op. cit.*, 34).

and the neighboring houses are forty-three leagues beyond and to the northwest of the Sobaipuris of San Francisco Xavier del Bac. The first ranchería, that of El Tusonimo, we named La Encarnacion, as we arrived there to say mass on the first Sunday in Advent; and because many other Indians came to see us from the ranchería of El Coatoydag, which was four leagues further on, we named the latter San Andres, as the following day was the feast of that holy apostle.^{128a} All were affable and docile people. They told us of two friendly nations living further on, all down the river to the west, and to the northwest on the Rio Azul, and still further, on the Rio Colorado. These nations are the Opas and Cocomaricopas. They speak a language very different [from that of the Pimas], though it is very clear, and as there were some who knew both languages very well, I at once and with ease made a vocabulary of the said tongue, and also a map of those lands, measuring the sun with the astrolabe.

The *casa grande*¹²⁹ is a four-story building, as large as a castle and equal to the largest church in these lands of Sonora. It is said that the ancestors of Montezuma deserted and depopulated it, and, beset by the neighboring Apaches, left for the east or Casas Grandes, and that from there they turned towards the south and southwest, finally founding the great city and court of

^{128a} Bancroft's mistrust of the *Afanes* leads him here into needless error. He states (*North Mexican States and Texas*, vol. i, 259) that it is "implied" by the *Afanes* that Kino named these two rancherías. But the *Afanes* clearly asserts this fact, and does not merely imply it. I believe that the *Favores* is the only authority which identifies these rancherías with the native names.

¹²⁹ On the Ms. of the *Lux de Tierra Incógnita* there is a drawing of the Casa Grande, presumably by Manje (p. 57). There is also one made in 1776 on one of the original diaries of Juan Bautista de Anza. Father Kino evidently had more knowledge of the Coronado expedition than Bancroft gives him credit for (*North Mexican States and Texas*, vol. i, 259).

Mexico. Close to this *casa grande* there are thirteen smaller houses, somewhat more dilapidated, and the ruins of many others, which make it evident that in ancient times there had been a city here. On this occasion and on later ones I have learned and heard, and at times have seen, that further to the east, north, and west there are seven or eight more of these large old houses and the ruins of whole cities, with many broken *metates* and jars, charcoal, etc. These certainly must be the Seven Cities mentioned by the holy man, Fray Marcos de Niza, who in his long pilgrimage came clear to the Bacapa ranchería of these coasts, which is about sixty leagues southwest from this *casa grande*, and about twenty leagues from the Sea of California. The guides or interpreters must have given his Reverence the information which he has in his book concerning these Seven Cities, although certainly at that time, and for a long while before, they must have been deserted. The natives and children of the Pimas, Opas, and Comaricopas were very well pleased.^{129a}

^{129a} Manje gives the following description of the ruins about Casa Grande in 1697. "We continued west, and after going four leagues more arrived at noon at the 'casas grandes', within which mass was said by Father Kino, who had not yet breakfasted. One of the houses is a large edifice whose principal room in the middle is of four stories, those adjoining its four sides being of three. Its walls are two *varas* thick, are made of strong cement and clay, and are so smooth on the inside that they resemble planed boards, and so polished that they shine like Puebla pottery. The angles of the windows, which are square, are very true and without jambs or cross pieces of wood, and they must have made them with a mold or frame. The same is true of the doors, although they are narrow, by which we know it to be the work of Indians. It is 36 paces long and 21 wide. It is well built, as is seen from the drawing on the margin, and has foundations. An arquebus-shot away are seen twelve other half fallen houses, also having thick walls, and all with their roofs burned." (*Luz de Tierra Incognita*, libro ii, cap. 5). See also Lumholtz, *op. cit.*, 340-342; Hodge, *Handbook*, part i, 209, and authorities there cited.

BOOK III. ARRIVAL OF THE VENERABLE
FATHER FRANCISCO XAVIER SAETA AT
THESE NEW CONVERSIONS; HIS APOS-
TOLIC FERVOR, WORK, ZEAL, AND HOLY
LETTERS; HIS GLORIOUS, INNOCENT
DEATH; AND VARIOUS LETTERS
PROPHETIC OF THE GREAT FRUIT
OF THESE CONVERSIONS

CHAPTER I. EXPEDITION OF THE VENERABLE
FATHER FRANCISCO XAVIER SAETA TO HIS NEW
MISSION OF NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LA CON-
SEPSION DEL CABORICA ¹⁸⁰

Although I have written another little treatise ¹⁸¹ of more than twenty sheets concerning the glorious, innocent death of the venerable Father Francisco Xavier Saeta, I may say here, in brief, that this very zealous, apostolic man was of the very best blood of Cicilia,¹⁸² and now his blood is very glorious and most fortunate,

¹⁸⁰ On the coming of Father Saeta to Pimería, the founding of the mission of Nuestra Señora de la Concepción de Caborca, and the events there before the death of Father Saeta, the following eight chapters are by far the best account. Hitherto the account by Ortega in *Apostólicos Afanes* (254-257), which is based directly on these chapters, has been the best. Manje (*Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 35-36) gives some additional details, but his chronology is defective. By following him instead of the *Afanes*, Bancroft assigns the founding of the mission to the year 1695, though he mentions the contradictory evidence in the *Afanes* in a footnote (*North Mexican States and Texas*, vol. i, 259). The authenticity of Kino's account, based on the original letters quoted here, is unquestionable.

¹⁸¹ So far as the editor is aware, this pamphlet has not been known to earlier students, nor is its present whereabouts known to the editor. See the "Bibliography." See also volume ii, 158.

¹⁸² The Ms. reads "Guila"; the *Afanes* reads "Cicilia," which is probably correct.

since it was shed in the apostolic ministry, preaching and spreading our holy Catholic faith. The venerable father came from Mexico¹³³ to the new conversions of this Pimeria about the middle of October, 1694, and I, setting out by order of the superiors from this district of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores on October 19,¹³⁴ went on the twenty-first to leave his Reverence in the new district that was assigned to him, which was that of Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion del Caborica, in the nation of El Soba. It is forty-four leagues west from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores and only twenty from the Sea of California, whither the venerable father, to his own great pleasure, aspired and hoped to go some day. Midway between Nuestra Señora de los Dolores and La Concepcion there are two other districts, that of San Ygnacio, where Father Agustin de Campos was and still is stationed, and that of Tubutama, administered by Father Daniel Ganusque.

We went in by the most direct road, leaving these two districts to the right. And it was a particular comfort and a great wonder to the venerable father to see the great affability of such friendly people as we found everywhere, for they immediately gave him some infants to baptize. The first one that he baptized he named after his most beloved patron, San Francisco Xavier; another one after San Ygnacio; another, after San Pedro; another, Maria; another, Rosalia, etc. Three leagues this way is the *ranchería* or newly begun

¹³³ Manje states that he came in consequence of the sending to Mexico of his own reports and the reports of others, by the missionaries and General Domingo Jironza, in consequence of which alms were furnished by the royal treasury (Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 35-36).

¹³⁴ Manje makes it appear that Saeta made his alms-gathering trip in Sonora before he went to Caborca, not arriving there till January, 1695. But from the letters which follow this is clearly not the case (Manje, *op. cit.*, 36).

pueblo of San Diego del Pibquin,^{134a} which also belonged to the mission of La Concepcion. In both places the children received us with great pleasure to themselves and to us, and with many crosses and arches placed all along those pleasant and level roads.

CHAPTER II. FIRST HOLY FERVOR AND ZEAL, AND ONE OF THE HOLY LETTERS OF THE VENERABLE FATHER FRANCISCO XAVIER SAETA

The venerable father began at once, with admirable and holy fervor, the spiritual and temporal administration of his new mission, teaching the Christian doctrine by means of the interpreter, teaching prayers by means of a *temastián*, and beginning at the same time the construction of a chapel or little church, he laboring personally on the work with his own holy hands, *Laborantis manibus nostris*,¹³⁵ as Saint Paul said. He made a good garden, a wheatfield, and later a farm,¹³⁶ etc. Eight or nine most fervent holy letters which the venerable father wrote me, which still exist and are in my possession, and which I look upon and preserve as relics, make known his most tender and most exquisite apostolic charity, zeal, and holy fervor. Eight days after entering La Concepcion, he wrote me the following:

Through the mercy of God I have sufficient courage to endure joyfully everything for His love. The children, because of their conduct, give me a thousand comforts, which is what concerns me, as your Reverence can read in the enclosed letter for the father visitor, from which, together with the cited report of our

^{134a} "Pitguio," Hist. del Nayarit, 317, but this is clearly a typographical error, for in that work Pitquin is the regular form. It is not the same as Pitic, now Hermosillo.

¹³⁵ "Laboring with our hands" (I Cor., iv, 12. *Et Laboremus operantes manibus nostris*. "And we labor, working with our hands").

¹³⁶ According to Manje (*op. cit.*, 36) Saeta at first occupied the old house which had been built during the expeditions of 1693 and 1694 to Caborca.

coming to this new mission,¹³⁷ you can learn the rest, also. The children have made five hundred adobes, etc.

Thus far the venerable father. At the same time the superiors determined that the new missions of this Pimeria, with the neighboring district of Cocurpe, should form and be a separate rectorate,¹³⁸ and Father Marcos Antonio Kapus, who is at present rector of Matape, was named its rector. It is called the rectorate or mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, for this district, with that of Cocospera, already had six fathers.

CHAPTER III. THE VENERABLE FATHER GOES OUT TO SEEK ALMS FOR HIS NEW MISSION AND FOR THE BUILDING OF HIS NEW CHURCH

NOVEMBER 15, 1694. Afterward, in the middle of November, the venerable father determined to go to collect among the other fathers, of the old missions, alms for his new district and the building of his church, etc. I had promised him and proceeded to give him six[ty]^{138a} head of cattle and an equal number of sheep and goats, sixty *fanegas* of wheat and maize, a drove of mares, etc. His Reverence came to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, and went on to Cucurpe, whence he wrote me the following letter on November 15.

SECOND LETTER, NOVEMBER 15, 1694. The father rector has taken much comfort from the good news that I have sent him concerning the happy beginnings of my mission, and he gives me ample authority to procure, through the charity of our fathers, its temporal advancement. In order that it may prosper

¹³⁷ Manje refers to "un Cuaderno de apuntes del Padre" in which the success of the mission is treated (Manje, *op. cit.*, 36).

¹³⁸ The erection of the new rectorate is, apparently, not mentioned by the other authorities, at least in this connection. The five missionaries in Pimería were evidently Kino at Dolores, Saeta at Caborca, Campos at Magdalena and San Ignacio, Janusque at Tubutama, and Sandoval at Cocóspera.

^{138a} This clearly should be sixty. See page 136.

in a spiritual way, your Reverence, with your fervent charity and zeal, will not cease asking God for its happy success, so that all may redound to the greater glory of God and the spiritual welfare of our most beloved children. If there should be an occasion, give them my warmest greetings, etc.

Thus far the venerable father, who went at once to the other three extensive rectorates, that of San Francisco Xavier de Sonora, that of San Francisco de Borja, and that of the Holy Martyrs of Japan, and everywhere, especially in Matape, his very fine zeal being recognized, he was given liberal alms.

CHAPTER IV. THIRD VERY TENDER LETTER OF THE VENERABLE FATHER FRANCISCO XAVIER SAETA, IN WHICH HIS MORE THAN PATERNAL AFFECTION FOR HIS CHILDREN IS SHOWN

THIRD LETTER. On January 19, from the district of Guepaca,¹³⁹ Sonora, he wrote me this most charitable and loving letter:

I send your Reverence two bundles. I am leaving for Matape, and go in great haste, because of my eagerness to give your Reverence a thousand most cordial embraces and to be among my most beloved children, whom I greet and embrace with all my heart and with all my love. And I consider well spent these labors which I have performed in their aid. *Sit nomen Domini benedictum.*¹⁴⁰ The Señor governor and captain, Don Pedro de Almazan, and Father Rector Manuel Gonzales especially commend themselves to your Reverence. Your Reverence will par-

¹³⁹ On the map in Bancroft's *North Mexican States*, vol. i, 251, this is given as Huepaca, on the Sonora River, south of Arizpe and north of Ures. According to Manje, Father Saeta was at San Juan Bautista on January 2, where he took part in the *fiesta* of N.S. del Pilar, and whence he set out to "found" the mission of Concepción. The foregoing letter shows that Manje could not have been correct on this point. It indicates that Saeta must have gone south from San Juan Bautista, instead of directly to his mission. (Manje, *op. cit.*, 36.) Ortega (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 256), although following the *Favores*, gives a wrong impression as to the date of the alms-gathering journey.

¹⁴⁰ "Blessed be the name of the Lord" (*Job*, i, 21).

don this very miserable note, which I am writing with a scrawl.
Goodbye, my most loving father. *Humilimus ex corde.*

XAVERIUS SAETA.¹⁴¹

The venerable father had already passed through Matape some weeks before, and he now returned to learn what was to be given him, and at what time, etc. He received very generous and considerable alms from Father Rector Marcos de Loyola, most perfect and zealous lover and great benefactor of new conversions.

CHAPTER V. THE VENERABLE FATHER RETURNS TO HIS MISSION AND IN ANOTHER LETTER DECLARES THE VERY GOOD CON- DUCT OF HIS CHILDREN

JANUARY, 1695. At the end of January, 1695, the venerable father returned to his mission of La Concepcion de Nuestra Señora del Caborca. He was very well content, and the children rejoiced greatly to see that the few servants who had set out with his Reverence now returned very well clothed and were telling many new things about the missions which they had never seen before, and saying that wherever they had gone they had been shown great kindness, even more than if they had gone among their own relatives. The contentment of the venerable father is shown by the following letter of March 4, 1695, in which he says:

MARCH. My children place themselves at the feet of your Reverence, to whom I can give nothing but good news of them. The justices came running along the road to receive me, with joy and happiness equal to that which I feel at seeing and embracing them as my longed-for and most beloved children. They continue to attend mass every morning and catechism twice a day, large as well as small. They work with all love, and have become aids to the three other rancherías of the vicin-

¹⁴¹ "Truly your most humble servant, Xavier Saeta." An ordinary termination of a Latin letter.

ity, which are those of Unuicat, Bopota,¹⁴² and Actum, whose governors have promised me to come down with their people to live with me in this pueblo, as I have urged them to do. If they do so, it will surely be greatly to the glory of God, and one of the largest pueblos in this province can be formed. It will not fail through lack of my endeavours, etc. I have planted a very pretty garden plot, in which the little trees are set out and the vegetable seeds sown for the refreshment of the sailors from California, etc.

He adds that a start has already been made on a good ranch, with corrals, and plentiful grass and water, etc.

CHAPTER VI. TWO OTHER LETTERS IN WHICH
THE VENERABLE FATHER DECLARES HIS GOOD AND
HOLY DESIRE TO PROCEED TO THE CON-
VERSION OF CALIFORNIA ¹⁴³

How much the venerable father desired and solicited even the new transmarine conversions of California may be judged from his following two letters, one of the fifteenth and the other of the twenty-first of March of [16]95. In one he writes me thus:

FIFTH LETTER. Yesterday, the fourteenth inst., I received your Reverence's very welcome favor of the second of this month, through the Indian Santiago, who brought me the sixty head of sheep and goats for the provisioning of this new mission. These, together with the thirty-five [fifty-five] preceding, make one hundred and fifteen. The fifteen will be for our dear California, as your Reverence suggests. May God repay your Reverence for the charity, while on my part I give you due thanks with all my heart.

SIXTH LETTER. In the other letter, of March 21, he writes thus:

With inexpressible pleasure to me and to my children, the herdsmen arrived yesterday, Passion Sunday, the twentieth in-

¹⁴² Not the same as Santa María Bugota, noted elsewhere.

¹⁴³ This item seems to be omitted from all the other authorities.

stant, with the cattle which your Reverence gives for this mission, to the number of one hundred head. As your Reverence suggests to me, the other five spotted cows, with your Reverence's brand, are assigned, as is your wish, to our most beloved holy hermitess, Rosalia de las Californias, to whom I am continually praying *Sit portus et aura suis*,¹⁴⁴ in order that some day we may go to set up with our own hands her image and in time her own statue on that innocent and happy little hill, dedicated to her, etc.

CHAPTER VII. LETTER IN WHICH THE VENERABLE FATHER REFUSES TO LEAVE LA CONSEPCION, IN ORDER TO STAY AND OBTAIN THE CROWN OF MARTYRDOM IN HOLY WEEK

Now follows the seventh letter of the venerable father in which he manifests his decision, although sent for, not to leave his mission, because of his desire to stay to receive the crown of martyrdom in the holy season in which the Redeemer of the world and King of Martyrs obtained it.

SEVENTH LETTER, 1695. Well, on the ninth of March, the venerable father says to me:

I received your Reverence's very dear letter of the twenty-fourth ult., through the muleteers who brought me my trunks and who arrived on the fourth of this month. I appreciate very much your Reverence's noble attention, shown by inviting me to enjoy myself, but I must say, my father, that I will not be able to enjoy the favors of your Reverence, for really I am already very much engrossed, both in spiritual and temporal matters; for, foreseeing that these difficulties must arise, in setting out again I tried to dispose once for all of all the affairs that I could, because then I was not needed, while now I believe that I am very much needed here. In fact, I have excused myself also from going to other places where they had invited me for Holy

¹⁴⁴ "May she be a port of safety and a breeze to her clients." (See Ovid, *Vos eritis nostræ portus et ara fugæ*, "You will be harbor and home to our exile").

Week, and I shall hardly be able to go to San Pedro del Tubutama to perform the duties of the church. But occasions will not be lacking, etc. Francisco is going, etc.

Thus far the venerable father Francisco Xavier Saeta.

CHAPTER VIII. LAST LETTER OF MOST TENDER FAREWELL FROM THE VENERABLE FATHER

I add the eighth and last letter, which the venerable father wrote me on April 1, a few hours before his glorious death, and which, without his knowing or suspecting it, is a most tender farewell. I received it twenty-seven hours after his holy martyrdom occurred, the news of his death itself having come two hours before. The letter is as follows:

The great favor of your Reverence reaches me, with the rolls of bread, biscuit, etc., for which I return to your Reverence due and cordial thanks. In regard to the question of our seeing each other one of these days, your Reverence may notify me by an Indian whenever you wish me to go to the post of Santa Maria; for, although I am badly needed here if I leave for a moment, because I am so very busy, nevertheless, I will steal that short bit of time and, like fleet Saeta, will fly and place myself at the feet of your Reverence, to receive your commands and discuss many things. I shall be glad if the articles of clothing referred to can be brought at the time of meeting from some of these mining towns for my children, for they are limited to sackcloth, blankets, tunics, and *pisiete*. I will promptly pay what they are worth, either in wheat or in silver, at the latest at wheat harvest, for here work proceeds with vigor — *feruet opus*¹⁴⁵ — and I realize that these attractions are very helpful for the spiritualities as well as for the temporalities. I cannot spend much time on this letter, as the bearer wishes to return. I always remain subject to the orders of your Reverence. *Vale, pater optime, et in tuis sacrificiis, tui yndignisimi famuli ne oblivis-*

¹⁴⁵ "The work glows," i.e. proceeds with vigor (Virgil, *Æneid*, vol. i, line 436. *Fervet opus redolentque thymo fragrantia mella*).

*caris precor.*¹⁴⁶ Concepcion de Nuestra Señora del Caborca, April 1, 1695. Your Reverence's humblest servant in Christ.

XAVIER SAETA.

P.S. I. Through lack of vinegar I have not yet tried my very pretty garden. I appreciate very much the kindness your Reverence does me in writing in my behalf to the superiors, and although I merit nothing except all kinds of confusion (for what I do is nothing in comparison with what I owe to the divine Majesty and to His most beloved souls), nevertheless I do not fail to be grateful for the kindness. *Vale iterum humanissime Pater et felix vive.*¹⁴⁷

P.S. II. The bearer of your Reverence's letter has grieved me unspeakably by the news he brought me, to the effect that the Hocomes attacked San Pedro del Tubutama the other day and killed poor Martin and the boy Fernando, who were returning from bringing me the cattle.¹⁴⁸ In God's name your Reverence will tell me about what happened, as well as about Father Daniel.¹⁴⁹

Thus far the venerable father in his last letter, inside; but after it was sealed he wrote me the following on the outside:

I shall be very much pleased if your Reverence receives the bundle of relics and other little things which I sent to you by Father Daniel. I received two sacks of maize by hand of the governor of Bosna. The maize could not be brought from Santa Maria on account of the enemies, for the news of the deaths of Martin and the boy is confirmed. Let your Reverence not lose sight of me.

Thus far the venerable father. I received this last long and most tender letter at eleven o'clock on Easter day, having received two hours before, at about nine o'clock in the morning, the sad news of his holy death.

¹⁴⁶ "Farewell, most excellent Father. In your holy sacrifices do not, I pray, be unmindful of your most unworthy servant" (i.e., in your Masses).

¹⁴⁷ "Again, farewell, most kindly Father, and be happy."

¹⁴⁸ For accounts of the uprising at Tubutama, see "Index" and *Apostólicos Afanes*, 256-257; Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incognita*, libro ii, 30-31.

¹⁴⁹ Father Daniel Januske.

APRIL 2, 1695. It occurred at sunrise on the morning of Holy Saturday, or Saturday of the Gloria, April 2, 1695, as I will now tell in chapter nine. The news of it came in twenty-seven hours, a distance of forty-six leagues.

CHAPTER IX. CONCERNING THREE OTHER MUR-
DERS COMMITTED IN SAN PEDRO
DEL TUBUTAMA

The disturbances and murders which the venerable father mentions in his last letter, and which were attributed to the Jocomes, were not committed by them, but by the Tubutamas themselves, and later, by some others, disgusted, very much stirred up, and irritated at certain bad treatment and new and old severities, and even at some murders in the west and in the north. Those malcontents went to take vengeance on La Concepcion, destroying almost all the mission. It is evident that the three murders which took place in El Tubutama on March 29, four days before the death of the venerable father—namely, those of three Opata Indians, Antonio, the herdsman of El Tubutama, Martin and the boy Fernando, who were returning from La Concepcion, were committed by the Tubutamas because of the harsh and choleric treatment with which, many times, the said Opata Indian Antonio abused and beat the Pima Indians of El Tubutama. For, on the same day, March 29, Holy Tuesday, he knocked down on the ground and wounded with spur thrusts the overseer of the farm, who cried out to his relatives, "This Opata is killing me;" whereupon the rest of the Pimas shot two arrows at him. Nevertheless, he mounted a horse and fled to the pueblo. They followed and killed him, plundered the other Opata Indians named, burned the

house and little church of the venerable father, and killed many cattle, etc., as the father had set out a few hours before for San Ygnacio and Cucurpe with the news of all this.

And it seems that some of these disturbers went to the neighboring ranchería of San Antonio del Vquitoa, eight leagues to the southwest, and the malcontents there, together with others, about forty in all, planned to do the same thing [in Pitquin], which is distant about twelve leagues, the common enemy and others, their following, coöperating to the complete obstruction of our holy faith. On the first day of April these forty-odd sinners came down to San Diego del Pitquin, which is three leagues from La Concepcion, and arranged to commit very early on the following morning the sacrilegious iniquities which in fact they so barbarously did commit against the person of the venerable father, his property, and his four servants, Opatas and strangers.

CHAPTER X. HAPPY AND GLORIOUS DEATH OF THE VENERABLE FATHER FRANCISCO XAVIER SAETA AND OF HIS FOUR SERVANTS, AND THE PLUNDERING OF HIS HOUSE

At sunrise on Saturday of the Gloria, April 2, 1695, these forty-odd malefactors from San Antonio del Vquitoa entered the house of the venerable father, apparently in peace, but with their bows and arrows. They talked to the venerable father and he with them, and bade them good-bye in a friendly way. They went out, the venerable father accompanying them to the door of the spacious hall, where he at once discovered the evil purpose of the sacrilegists, and although the venerable father called the captain of La Concepcion,

through fear of the armed people he failed to approach. Then the venerable father knelt down in the very door of his hall (which was the one that still served as a little church) to receive, as he did receive, the two arrow shots, and arising with them he went in to embrace a very pretty crucifix which he had brought with him from Europe, and, seating himself on a box, on account of weakness and pain, and afterwards on the bed, bleeding, he gave his happy spirit to the sovereign Creator.

These cruel barbarians also killed the four servants of the venerable father. One was named Francisco Xavier and was a native of Vris. He served as interpreter and was married to a Pima woman of this Pimeria named Luisa, a native of the great ranchería of Mototicachi, which was so unreasonably destroyed in the year 1688. More than twenty captives were carried off from it to the mining town which they call Los Frayles, and more than fifty natives were beaten, merely because of the malicious suspicion that they were stealing stock and committing the hostilities in this province, although it is thoroughly patent now that they have been committed by the Hocomes, Xaños, Sumas, and Apaches combined, and not by these much persecuted poor Pimas of this extensive Pimeria hereabout.

Therefore, his Excellency ordered that these captives should be restored to their liberty and to their nation, whereupon the said Lucia came to this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, where she married the above mentioned Francisco Xavier. The second of the servants was Josep[h], a very good herdsman, a native of Chinapa, who had married in Cocospera. The third was a plainsman,¹⁵⁰ a native of Cumpas,

¹⁵⁰ *Sabanero.*

named Francisco. The fourth was another boy, a native of Vres, named Fernando, who had aided in taking the cattle to La Concepcion. The barbarians plundered the house of the venerable father, killed and stampeded the cattle, sheep and goats, and the horse-herd, and went away leaving the people of La Concepcion grief stricken. Four or five days afterward the governor of El Bosna, whom I had sent to find out in detail about all that had happened, arrived at La Concepcion. As he found that the bodies of the dead were decomposing, he burned them, not being able to give them any other burial. Near the body of the venerable father he found the holy crucifix, which he was bringing to me when he met the soldiers from the presidio, who took it away from him.

CHAPTER XI. EXPEDITION OF THE GARRISON OF THIS PROVINCE OF SONORA TO PUNISH THE DELINQUENTS AND TO REMOVE THE BODY OF THE VENERABLE FATHER

Upon receiving the news, which I at once despatched to the superiors and to the royal justice, the Señor governor of arms, Don Domingo Jeronsa Petriz de Cruzat, responded and came at once with the soldiers of his presidio and with many friendly Indians, and accompanied by Father Agustin de Campos and Father Fernando Bayerca, for the purpose of redressing the injuries and to remove the body of the venerable father to La Concepcion. But from everywhere around there the people fled through fear of the soldiers, whom they had never seen before. Having killed a boy, beaten an Indian woman, and taken captive three little children whom they encountered, they gathered up the bones and ashes of the venerable father, and various

papers, books, and other trifles. Returning, the Señor governor observed the day of the Holy Cross in May in this new church of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, confessing and partaking of the holy Sacrament in the morning, and in the afternoon we all proceeded to the nearby pueblo of Cucurpe. We bore the bones and ashes of the venerable father; and the Señor governor, to the great satisfaction of all, deigned to lead by the bridle the mule which bore the little box containing the bones of the venerable father. The following day the burial occurred, the father rector of this rectorate of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, Father Marcos Antonio Kappus, singing mass.

CHAPTER XII. SECOND AND NEW EXPEDITION OF THE GARRISON AND NEW AND GREATER DISTURBANCE THAN BEFORE

As all the people of El Tubutama and its vicinity, those of La Consecpcion, and especially the delinquents of San Antonio del Uquitoa, etc., had fled afar through fear of the garrison, the Señor governor of arms was of the opinion that he should wait a little, and that, affecting carelessness, only the chief criminals should be punished, the good Pimas who were not guilty of or accomplices in the crime coöperating. But others urged that return should be made to inflict severe punishment at once. The captain of the presidio returned with more supplies. We summoned the people, with the delinquents of El Tubutama, to make peace. The innocent ones and the justices went inland to seek out and summon the malefactors, and all came with crosses and without arms, but all were killed, both good and bad, to the number of more than fifty, among them being the governor of El Bosna and the governor of

El Tupo, who with great friendliness and loyalty had labored so hard and traveled so far in hunting for the criminals, and who had aided in their punishment.

At so many murders of so many innocents, for there were only five or six of the delinquents there, the relatives of the dead were aroused and stirred up to such a degree that after the garrison had retired or gone away, they burned the houses or chapels of San Ignacio, San Joseph de los Hymires, Santa Maria Magdalena, and La Consecpcion (which at the time of the murder of the venerable father they had not burned), profaning the holy ornaments and destroying all the supplies, cattle, and horses, etc. But, happily, Father Agustin de Campos with the six soldiers who had remained with him as guard, had left, fleeing to Cucurpe and Opodepe. We were all in great straits, but I sent such quieting messages as I could to all parts, and by Divine grace the trouble went no further.

CHAPTER XIII. THIRD EXPEDITION WITH THREE
GARRISONS OF ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY MEN
AND WITH MANY INDIAN FRIENDS FROM
EVERYWHERE, EVEN FROM HYAQUI

JULY AND AUGUST, 1695. Afterward, in July and August, there went inland three camps or garrisons, comprising one hundred and fifty men, with two hundred loads of supplies, and with many Indian friends from all parts, even from the Pimeria of the north itself, for besides the garrison of this Presidio of Sonora, that of the Presidio of Xanos entered under General Juan Fernandez de la Fuente; likewise, the garrison of the Presidio of El Gallo, under General Don Domingo Theran. These two garrisons passed through the lands of the Hocomes and the hostile Xanos, in order

to reach Pimeria, and in those lands, in the Serro de Chiguicagui,¹⁵¹ they found almost all the spoils of the many robberies which, during all these years had been committed in this province of Sonora and on its frontiers, including many arquebuses, swords, daggers, spurs, saddle-bags, saddles, boots, etc., whose theft many had so falsely imputed to the Pimas Sobaipuris.

There were also found the pieces, very recently broken, of the bugle which they took away from the bugler of General Quiros. Among these Hocomes were found the spoils of the soldier Juan de Ochoa, whom, a few weeks before, they had captured alive, killing his three companions, on the road between Guachinera and Guasavas. Many of these spoils, guns, saddles, etc., were redeemed, and truces were made with the enemy until they should come to the Pimeria, whither General Don Domingo Therau hurried, entering Tubutama at night, without the other two garrisons knowing it, and killing fifteen or sixteen Pimas. Hereupon the people fled in all directions, just as they were about to deliver up the criminals to their deserved punishment.

The garrisons, together with the friendly Indians, went up from El Tubutama to El Saric, and then descended to La Concepcion, a march of more than forty leagues, consuming fruitlessly many weeks' time, because the people were still far away, until with great prudence, experience, and very Christian zeal, General Juan Fernandez de la Fuente, realizing that there was

¹⁵¹ The Chiricahua (Chiguicagui) Mountains are in southeastern Arizona, about half way between the Rio Gila and the international boundary line. Hodge (*Handbook of American Indians*, vol. i, 282) says that the Chiricahua Apaches were the most warlike of the Arizona Indians. Chiricahua is a small town on the El Paso and Southwestern Railway about twenty miles northeast of Douglas.

no rebellion among these Pimas, since in all this time they did not resist, oppose, or make war on any one, anywhere, but merely fled through fear of the soldiers, and remained in retreat, endeavored to make peace, with the stipulation and condition that the Pimas and their chief captains and governors should obligate themselves to deliver up the principal malefactors in the murder of the venerable Father Francisco Xavier Saeta, and the Pimas joyfully accepted the proposal.

BOOK IV. GENERAL PEACE-AGREEMENTS
OF THIS PIMERIA, AND LETTERS OF VARI-
OUS PROMINENT PERSONS WHO PROPHE-
SY AND PROMISE GREAT FRUITS
FROM THE INNOCENT AND HAPPY
DEATH OF THE VENERABLE FA-
THER FRANCISCO XAVIER SAETA

CHAPTER I. THE VERY CATHOLIC PEACE-AGREE-
MENTS OF THIS PIMERIA

General Juan Fernandez de la Fuente, seeing that all the Pimas, those who had retreated as well as those who had not, those of the west and those of the north, were falling in so amicably with his very generous and very Catholic proposals relative to the peace-agreements, his Grace summoned me to see that the truces were properly drawn up, so that we fathers should be safe, content, and satisfied. I went at once to El Tupo and La Concepcion, whither many natives of six distinct rancherías, or pueblos, presently arrived, on the twenty-fifth of August. Soon we came to the plains of La Cienega del Tupo; and on August 30, day of the most glorious Saint of the Indies, Rosa de Santa Maria, seven other rancherías or pueblos and many governors went down thither.

And after sundry very pacific and very Catholic talks on the part of the Company, and especially on the part of the generals, some very friendly, very excellent, and very Christian peace-agreements were drawn up in the name of God and the King, the Pimas very will-

ingly obligating themselves promptly to surrender the principal delinquents to their merited punishment. And it was a source of most singular comfort, and edification, and tenderness to see those generals embracing those poor Pima captains and governors with such loving, Christian, Catholic embraces and friendly caresses. Thanks to the Sovereign Lord, some peace-agreements were drawn up and so well established and fixed that, by Divine mercy, they remained very permanent, to the great advantage of the province and to the great injury of our enemies, the Hocomes; and in due time these captains and governors fulfilled their promise, surrendering to the royal justice the principal delinquents. They were catechised, baptized, and prepared for death; but the very great and paternal charity of the father visitor, Oracio Polise, seeing them so humble and so repentant, obtained their pardon.

CHAPTER II. SUNDRY LETTERS OF PRINCIPAL PERSONS, WHO PROGNOSTICATE AND PROMISE VERY COPIOUS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL FRUITS IN THE MOST CONSTANT CONVERSION OF MANY SOULS; AND, IN THE FIRST PLACE, THE LETTERS OF THE SUPERIORS

FATHER RECTOR MARCOS ANTONIO KAPUS. The father rector of this mission or rectorate of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, Marcos Anttonio Kapus, without delay, early in April, while we were still somewhat in doubt in regard to the death of the venerable father (inasmuch as since the news of the death, which was brought by an Indian, many letters had come from the venerable father), wrote me the following words:

I constantly feel, *sensim sine sensu*, a greater and greater veneration for this our glorious protomartyr, and I hope that our Lord in his Divine Majesty will look upon this innocent victim,

for the furtherance of the conversion of very many souls. (And immediately afterward his Reverence adds:) I have the greatest hopes that all these evils are destined to bring forth much fruit and exceeding great good. May his Divine Majesty grant it and may she [Nuestra Señora de los Dolores] be our protector and our support.

FATHER VISITOR JUAN MUÑOS DE BURGOS. The father visitor, Juan Muños de Burgos, from the mining town of San Juan, through which his Reverence was passing on his return from the visitation, wrote me the following:

May our Lord requite your Reverence for the holy zeal with which you are endeavoring to stay the fury of such ungrateful people. May your Reverence, as father of those poor souls, aid them with your counsels and holy sacrifices, for I hope in the Lord that in the future the blood of that angel will be the means whereby the Pimeria will bring forth much fruit for the greater glory of God our Lord. May He guard your Reverence for me in much comfort.

In another letter, of April 15, his Reverence writes to me thus: "Be of good cheer, your Reverence, for I hope in the Lord that all this must redound to the greater glory of God, as we have seen in other new conquests where our brethren have shed their blood." In another, from his district of Guepaca, his Reverence writes to me the following:

Your Reverence's health has given me great concern, since they told me that they had seen your Reverence looking very ill, and I am rather inclined to think that in the present case your Reverence's heart and holy zeal are still suffering over the revolt of that new Christendom. God well knows that I would like to see your Reverence with lively hopes in our Lord that soon we shall see those poor misguided beings brought again into the bosom of our holy mother Church. In what new conversions have we not seen the shedding of blood of apostolic noblemen, whose irrigation has fertilized the harvest of many souls? In God's name, your Reverence, be of good courage in the Lord,

and comfort your heart; and with the same zeal continue in the conversion of those poor ingrates.

FATHER PROVINCIAL, DIEGO DE ALMONAZIR. The father provincial, Diego de Almonasir, having heard of this blessed death of the venerable father, Francisco Xavier Saeta, writes to and consoles the rest of the fathers, saying that we should have a thousand desires to obtain the same fortune as our companion; but that the Lord, content with Father Saeta, wished the others for the instruction of those people, and that their martyrdom should be without blood, but more prolonged in the continual risk of life and the difficult task of our ministry in the face of their brutish obstinacy. Says the father provincial to the father visitor, in regard to the fathers of Pimeria: "For my part, commend me to and signify to all my grateful envy of their blessed labors and happy lot, quite in keeping with the apostolic life and travail." Thus far the father provincial.

CHAPTER III. OTHER LETTERS FROM OTHER PROMINENT FATHERS WHO PROMISE AND ASSURE THE SAME BLESSED AND COPIOUS FRUIT

MAY 11, 1695. FATHER RECTOR MANUEL GONZALES. The father rector of the College of Oposura, Manuel Gonzales, on May 11 wrote thus:

With that of your Reverence, I received the note of the deceased father, Francisco Xavier Saeta – may he be with God in Glory – a very edifying note written a few days before his death. I have thought and I still think of your Reverence in as grievous and unhappy a case as that of our children, the Pimas. I so desire to comfort them that I would fain declare it with tears of my heart's blood instead of ink; but I am consoled by my knowledge of your Reverence, who knows how deep and hidden are the just and holy judgments of God our Lord, whom we ought to adore and venerate with all our hearts and souls. Good courage, my best beloved father, for God our Lord is able to bring great

good out of evil. How much your Reverence has worked for the good of those poor creatures, how well you were conducting so holy a work, and how far you had advanced it, all the world knows. (And afterwards his Reverence continues:) I beg of your Reverence, for the love of God our Lord and of His most holy Mother, our Lady of Sorrows, that your Reverence, in such sorrow, cast yourself at the feet of this our Lady, and offer yourself wholly to her, conforming yourself in everything to the Divine will, trusting much in the Divine goodness that when it shall please His Divine Majesty all will be rectified to His great honor and glory and to the advantage of all those poor sons of our heart. May God have pity upon them and guard your Reverence for me.

JUNE 9, 1695. FATHER RECTOR ANTONIO LEAL. Thus far the father rector, Manuel Gonzales. On the ninth of June the father rector, Antonio Leal, wrote me from his holy College of Guadiana the following letter.

I took great comfort from the pleasing reports with which the father visitor favored me, of the progress and increase of Christianity in the Pimeria, occasioned by the entry of your Reverence one hundred and fifty leagues to the north, and of the great number of heathen who anxiously sought the waters of holy baptism. But how could such ease be free from envy; and how could the Devil allow so many souls, which he held as his own, to escape him, without doing his utmost to block their pathway?

I have greatly regretted, and all greatly regret, that that revolt should have occurred among those poor creatures, although I hope in our Lord that it has not been in all parts. However, my father, though the faith of our God has had such a setback, not for that has it been destroyed; and although the Apostles, disciples of Christ, and their successors in all ages, have died, *si caro infirma spiritus promptus*,¹⁶² those who have remained have again promptly kindled the fires of the Holy Spirit,

¹⁶² "If the flesh be weak, the spirit is willing" (i.e., "If weak in body, yet willing in spirit") (*Matthew*, xxvi, 41, or *Mark*, xiv, 38. *Spiritus quidem promptus est, caro autem infirma*).

reviving it from the dearest ashes. Your Reverence, whom it behooves not to give up – for the blood of our brother is to be the watering by which those new plants are to wax greater, and in heaven he is to be the patron of those poor souls – your Reverence has been and must be their apostle; and great will be the compassion which for some is suffered by others. Then, my father, the blood of Christ! Be not cast down, your Reverence, by what has happened, for it is the cause of God, and God will return for its sake and assist your Reverence, whom I pray Him to guard for me many years. Since, your Reverence, I have ever been your companion in desires whose fulfillment our Lord hath not granted me, may he make me a participant in your labors.

Thus far the father rector, Antonio Leal, with his very paternal encouragement. The father rector of the College of Matape, Marcos de Loyola, a missionary very experienced as well in new as in old missions, writes me almost the same. He says that our Lord must desire this Pimeria for some great thing, since He permits it to be attacked and impeded with much opposition. And in another letter, of February 26, 1695, even preceding these disturbances, with more discerning prophecy, he writes as follows:

This means that your Reverence will not lack laborers to win the crown of eternity. Happy your Reverence, who has an opportunity to gain so much in heaven; I even envy your Reverence, for, as things are going you should take comfort in everything, for it is of God's law, and He is leading. There is no reason to lose heart on that account, but rather to hope in God, for He will bring from everything great fruit and good.

Thus far the father rector of Matape, Marcos de Loyola; and much of this nature many fathers have written and said.

CHAPTER IV. OTHER LETTERS FROM THREE LIEUTENANTS OF THIS PIMERIA IN REGARD TO THE BLESSED DEATH OF THE VENERABLE FATHER FRANCISCO XAVIER SAETA

Captain Pasqual de Picondo, who a few months before had been lieutenant of the Real de Bacanuche and of this Pimeria, writes me the following:

I regard the death of the venerable Father Francisco Xavier Saeta as one of the greatest glories that could be desired, for many have wished to die for our Lord Jesus Christ in like ministry and have not obtained their wish. Happy once and a thousand times Father Francisco Xavier Saeta, who obtained from our Lord the boon that his stole should be bathed in blood. And I regard all this Pimeria as flourishing, and predict that it will yield ripened fruit for the granary of the Church; and let the reverend fathers of Pimeria rejoice and congratulate themselves likewise, that they have a martyr comrade in heaven who is and will be their advocate with our Lord Jesus Christ, that their holy desires and labors may succeed.

Another and similar letter his successor in the lieutenancy, Captain Josep[h] Romo de Vivar, wrote me from Real de Bacanuche; and another, from the Real de San Juan, the General Don Pedro Garzia de Almazan, who had been a very great admirer of the venerable Father, since the latter four months before his happy death had lodged in his house at the Real de San Juan, when he preached at the feasts of Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion. And after other very fine letters in reference to the matter, more recently the present lieutenant of this Pimeria, Juan Matheo Manje, nephew of the Señor military commander of this province of Sonora, on the nineteenth of September, 1695, wrote me the following:

I have been pleased to learn of your Reverence's going to Mexico. May the sovereign Lord grant you a pleasant journey and complete success in everything and bring you back safe, ac-

accompanied by fervent and apostolic ministers for this Pimeria, vineyard of the Lord; for by the blood of the most zealous Father and martyr, Francisco Xavier Saeta, that harvest of souls is being fertilized, and in time will be the most flourishing, just as happens in the fields where by watering the land is fertilized in order that it may make the harvest of wheat luxuriant. Nor will this innocent blood of the venerable father martyr be like that of Abel, which cried for vengeance, but it will be a fountain of supplications and appeals for the conversion of those heathen tribes, and for their repentance, for they know not what they did — like those others who crucified Jesus the Lamb Himself, and who crucify Him again by opposing and hindering those new conversions. I am consoled, however, that your Reverence, by going to Mexico, will arrange for ministers, etc. I rejoice at the coming of the governors of the Soba nation from the west to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. The blood which was shed is beginning to bear me fruit.

This and much more from Captain Juan Matheo Manje, present lieutenant of this Pimeria, who with very Christian zeal and like valor has on various occasions made divers expeditions with me.

CHAPTER V. ANOTHER LETTER CITING THE UNIVERSAL EXAMPLE OF THE OTHER NEW CONVERSIONS, WHICH LIKEWISE BEGAN WITH THE SHEDDING OF THE BLOOD OF THEIR MINISTERS

FATHER ANTONIO MENENDEZ, JULY 2, 1695. Father Antonio Menendes, rector of the mission of San Ygnacio de Mayo, of Hyaqui, on the second of July, 1695, wrote from his holy College of Conicari¹⁵³ as follows:

In Hyaqui I received, with the pain which may be imagined, your Reverence's report of what had happened in the new conversion; this I knew already, and in my solitude I was thinking that your Reverence's heart must be completely broken, since at

¹⁵³ Conicari is on the Mayo River about twenty-five miles northeast of Alamos.

every avenue the common enemy opposes himself to hinder and embarrass that which is for the glory of God. This is a good sign, my father, for all those new conversions begin with ministers' blood for their fertilization, and, indeed, is a sign of perseverance and good success. Thus was the conversion of Cinaloa begun with Father Tapia; that of Chinipas with the two fathers Julio Pascual and Manual Martinez, that of Tepeguanes with seven glorious fathers, that of Tarmaures Antiguos with the blood of fathers Cornelio and Jacome Basilio; and now the new conversion of Tarmaures Nuevos with Father Coronda and Father Manuel Zanches. Therefore, be of good spirits my father, for God willed that the first fruits of that conversion should be the suffering of Father Francisco Xavier Saeta.

Thus far the father rector, Antonio Minendes. And, indeed, we see very plainly the above-mentioned fruits in the reduction of so many souls who, in the midst of so many hindrances *cuæ specificari possent mortes quo ano, quo loco, etc.* . . .¹⁵⁴ already are with such constancy coming from regions so remote to ask for holy baptism.

CHAPTER VI. PROPHECIES BY THE VENERABLE FATHER FRANCISCO XAVIER SAETA HIMSELF OF HIS GLORIOUS AND GREATLY DESIRED MARTYRDOM

Many persons, who came with and conversed with the Venerable Father in the passage from Spain to Vera Cruz and in Mexico, have had and still have memories so vivid of the many times when with singular tenderness he used to speak of his great desire to shed his blood and give his life for the Faith by means of a blessed, holy martyrdom, that they have written from Mexico to these missions, making detailed and express mention of those holy prophecies of his. One long letter from a person of this class, which is in my posses-

¹⁵⁴ "Whose deaths could be specified as to year, place," etc.

sion, treats very expressly of these holy premonitions of his. It arrived several weeks after his blessed death, but was written in Mexico at almost the same time at which here in La Concepcion the venerable father obtained his desired crown of martyrdom, of which I myself have heard him speak with singular tenderness, adding very expressly many times those words of St. John the Baptist, *Posuit me [sic] ut sagittam electam*,¹⁵⁵ referring to his surname, Saeta, which in Latin is *sagitta*, and in Castilian *flecha*.¹⁵⁶ In the letter which the venerable father wrote me from Guepaca on the nineteenth of January, 1695, he closed with the words: "May your Reverence pardon the miserable scrawl which I am writing with this arrow stroke." When the venerable father, a few months ago, went out to collect alms for his mission, in taking leave of various persons on going to the interior he said to them, as if he were going to die, "Adieu till we meet in heaven." And thus ever our Lord has given increase to his holy Church with His own most holy blood and with the blood of His well beloved and dearest ministers. *Plantaverunt Ecclesiam tuam sanguine suo, et sanguis Martirum semen christianorum*.¹⁵⁷ With this in mind a father visitor well said that the death of the venerable Father Francisco Xavier Saeta was a pearl for the Company.

¹⁵⁵ *Isaias*, xlix, 2. *Posuit me sicut sagittam electam*. "He hath made me a chosen arrow."

¹⁵⁶ I.e., arrow.

¹⁵⁷ "They planted the Church with their blood; and the blood of Martyrs is the seed of Christians" (Tertullian, *Apologeticus adversus Gentes*, cap. l. *Plures efficimur, quoties metimur a vobis; semen est sanguis Christianorum*). The same thought is expressed in several passages of Tertullian.

BOOK V. MY JOURNEY TO MEXICO AND MY
RETURN TO THE MISSIONS; VISITATION
OF THE FATHER VISITOR, ORACIO POLICE;
VARIOUS ENTRIES TO THE NORTH,
THE WEST, AND THE NORTHWEST;
DISCOVERY AND REDUCTION
OF NEW NATIONS

CHAPTER I. MY JOURNEY TO MEXICO TO OBTAIN
MISSIONARY FATHERS FOR THIS PIMERIA ¹⁵⁸

Since the year before, and earlier, when from these coasts of this Pimeria we caught sight of California nearby, I had asked and obtained permission from the father provincial, Diego de Almonacir, to go to Mexico to discuss with his Reverence and with his Excellency the conversion of California and the extensive new lands of this mainland; but my going had been prevented by the royal justice and some fathers, the lieutenants, and citizens of this province, who reported to Mexico that I should be needed here, and that I was accomplishing more than a well governed presidio, etc. This year, 1695, however, in view of the very Christian truces which had been drawn up on the thirtieth of August in this Pimeria, and since the harvest of souls

¹⁵⁸ For an account of this trip to Mexico, see Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, vol. i, 262-263; Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, 88-89; *Apostólicos Añanes*, 263; Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, cap. iv (45). The account given by Alegre is in some respects better than that given here by Kino, especially with respect to the details of Kino's efforts while in Mexico to secure justice for the Pimas. He says nothing, however, of Kino's efforts in behalf of California during this journey. In fact, none of the other authorities except the *Añanes* mention them.

was so plenteous, so widespread, and so ripe, I determined, although some opposed me, to avail myself of the license, almost an order, which I had from the father provincial, and to go to Mexico for the good of so many souls in sore need; and so, setting out from these missions of Sonora on the sixteenth of November, 1695,¹⁵⁹ in seven weeks and after a journey of five hundred leagues, I arrived at Mexico on January 8, 1696.

It was God's will that I should be able to say mass every day of this trip; and the three masses of the Feast of the Nativity I said in the new church of Nuestra Señora de Loreto of Guadalajara. The same day on which I arrived at Mexico Father Juan Maria Salvatierra¹⁶⁰ arrived by another route, while that morning the new government had been installed, Father Juan de Palacios having entered as provincial. I took with me to Mexico the son of the captain general of this Pimeria, and we received the utmost kindness and favors from the new father provincial and his predecessor, from his Excellency the Conde de Galves, and even from her Ladyship, the viceroy's wife, who were delighted at seeing new people who came from parts and lands so remote.

In reference to California, on account of various mishaps, neither I nor Father Juan Maria Salvatierra accomplished our purpose at that time, although the year following Father Juan Maria did accomplish it at the coming of the new viceroy, Conde de Valladares, etc. In regard to fathers for this Pimeria, I obtained five

¹⁵⁹ The details given here with respect to the date of leaving for Mexico, and the taking of the chief's son with him, are lacking in the other authorities except the *Afanes*.

¹⁶⁰ Alegre says that Salvatierra, Zappa, and Kino all three arrived on the same day (*op. cit.*, p. 89). The *Afanes* gives January 6 as the day of Kino's arrival in Mexico.

from the new father provincial, Juan de Palacios, though afterward the reports, false or ignorant, and the contrary opinions of those less interested, delayed everything, or almost everything, as usual.

CHAPTER II. MY DEPARTURE FROM MEXICO AND ARRIVAL AT THESE MISSIONS OF THE PIMERIA

FEBRUARY 8, 1696. On the eighth of February,¹⁶¹ 1696, I set out from Mexico with Father Anttonio de Benabides,¹⁶² who came to prepare himself in Guadiana¹⁶³ for this Pimeria. I came to observe Holy Week and Easter at Conicari, whence I forwarded the despatch of the government and many other letters which I was carrying to the new father visitor, Oracio Polise, and to other fathers. Afterward I passed on to Santa Maria de Bazaraca¹⁶⁴ to see the father visitor; and I found in his Reverence all affection and a very great and fatherly love for these new conversions. I had to return in the company of Captain Christobal de Leon, his son, and his men, for the greater security of my person; but his Divine Majesty saved me from the

¹⁶¹ This detail is lacking from the other accounts except the *Afanes*.

¹⁶² Alegre (*Historia*, vol. iii, 89) says that Kino brought with him Father Gaspar Barrillas. If this be true, it is strange that Kino does not mention the fact. Could Kino mean Barrillas instead of Benavides? According to Manje, upon the arrival of Barrillas, he was conducted to Tubutama and Caborca, in the latter of which places he reestablished the destroyed mission (*op. cit.*, 46). Ortega states that Kino conducted Barrillas to Caborca in February, 1697 (cited in Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i, 263). Kino shows that it was in 1698, after the expedition with Bernal (*post*, page 175). It may be, therefore, that Barrillas did not return with Kino, who reached Dolores in May, 1696. Ortega implies that none of the five missionaries were sent (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 264).

¹⁶³ Guadiana is the same as Durango, where there was at this time a Jesuit college. It was long the capital of Nueva Vizcaya, and is now the seat of government of the state of Durango.

¹⁶⁴ Santa María Bazeraca (now Bacerac) is situated on the north flowing stretch of the upper Yaqui River, nearly straight east of Arizpe, near the Chihuahua boundary, and high in the mountains. See "Map" and "Index."

great misfortune into which his Grace fell, for the hostile Jocomes killed him¹⁶⁵ and all his people on the road not very far from Oputo,¹⁶⁶ while I went to say goodbye to the father rector, Francisco Carranco, and Father Pedro del Marmol.¹⁶⁷ In the middle of May I arrived at Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. While I was gone to Mexico Father Agustin de Campos had administered the mission;¹⁶⁸ and his Reverence upon my return went to his mission of San Ygnacio.

In June, as the Pima children of the interior had heard of my return from Mexico, their principal governors and captains came to see me in such numbers and from parts so remote, from the north, from the west, etc., that Captain Don Antonio de Estrada Bocanegra,¹⁶⁹ who had been an eye-witness, wrote a long account of them, noting the fifty, sixty, seventy, eighty, ninety, and one hundred or more leagues' journey which many of them had come, all for the purpose of asking and obtaining holy baptism and fathers for their rancherías and for their many people. All received the very paternal and very Catholic messages of the father provincials and of their Excellencies, with various gifts which meanwhile they had sent them; and I sent them away comforted with fair hopes that by the divine

¹⁶⁵ For the details of this massacre see Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 45-48 and page 162, footnote. The references cited give the geography of the event. Alegre gives the Apaches as the aggressors.

¹⁶⁶ Oputo is on the upper Yaqui River, just north of latitude 30°, and southeast of Arizpe.

¹⁶⁷ These details are omitted from the other accounts.

¹⁶⁸ That is, he reestablished his mission, which had been destroyed in 1695. (See Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 46, on this point). After the Pima revolt had been quieted in 1695, Father Campos served as chaplain in a campaign against the Jocomes and Janos. During this campaign General Therán de los Ríos lost his life (Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 45).

¹⁶⁹ This item is lacking from the other accounts.

Grace they should accomplish the good intent and purpose which they professed of obtaining missionary fathers.

CHAPTER III. NEW AND OLD AND VERY VIOLENT
CONTRADICTIONS AND OPPOSITION WHICH HIN-
DERED THE COMING OF THE MISSIONARY
FATHERS TO THIS PIMERIA ¹⁷⁰

Nevertheless, so great were the obstacles and the opposition against this Pimeria that they caused even the most friendly father visitor, Oracio Polise, to falter. It was again reported, but very falsely, as has since been seen, that the Pimas Sobaipuris were closely

¹⁷⁰ Accounts of the Indian troubles of the later months of 1695 and of the year 1696 are given in Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 45-48 and Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, 92-93, each account supplementing the other. Either work is much better than Kino's on this point. The following summary is based on Manje and Alegre: In September, 1695, the three companies which had been in the Pimeria, with Father Campos as their chaplain, made a campaign against the Jocomes and Janos, who were pestering Sonora. In this campaign they killed sixty and captured seventy of the enemy, the captives being distributed as slaves among the soldiers. In the course of the expedition most of the soldiers were taken ill, from drinking poisoned water, as it was believed, and General Therán de los Ríos died. In January, 1696, Captain Antonio de Solís punished the Conchos, and put to death three leaders at Nacori, south of Oputo, in the upper Yaqui Valley, Father Carranco being present at the execution. In March the Apaches, Jocomes, and Janos, who had attacked Tonibavi, were punished, eighteen being killed. Sometime before May (for Kino was with the party) the same Indians attacked the party of Captain Cristóbal de León, in the Sierra of San Cristóbal, while they were on their way from Cusiguriachi. Father Kino, who had been in De León's band, fortunately had just turned aside to visit Fathers Carranco and Marmol, as related on page 161. To avenge this attack the *Compañía Volante* went to the Sierra de Batepito, near Corodeguachi, but had little success. Jironza now called on the chiefs of the Janos and the Pimas to make a general campaign. They united at the Sierra Florida, near the Gila, and succeeded in killing thirty-two men and capturing fifty women and children. During the same year of 1696 a general uprising was attempted in Tarahumara, Tecupeto, and Sonora, under the influence of chief Quigue, or Quihue, of the pueblo of Santa María Baseraca. After ten leaders had been hanged at San Juan Bautista and Tecupeto, and chief Quigue had lost his life near Janos, quiet was restored. For the rebel chief's eloquent speech setting forth the grievances against the Spaniards, see Alegre, *op. cit.*

allied with the hostile Jocomes, and with the other enemies of this province of Sonora; and they were charged with stealing droves of horses, etc., and with having many large corrals full of them. It was falsely reported, also, that these Pimas were involved in the tumults and revolts of Taraumara, on the testimony of the Taraumares themselves, but the Taraumares could not have been speaking of the Pimas of this Pimeria, who are more than one hundred and fifty leagues distant from the Taraumares, but only of the Pimas near them, who are those of Tapipa and near Yecora.¹⁷¹ It had been said and reported, but very falsely, that the Pimas of the interior and their neighbors were such cannibals that they roasted and ate people, and that for this reason one could not go to them; but already we have entered and have found them very friendly and entirely free from such barbarities.

I found it published at the coming of his Illustriousness to Matape that Father Kino was asking in letters that they bring him with soldiers out of the tumultuous Pimeria, when such a thing had never entered my thoughts.¹⁷²

It was said and written to Mexico that I lived guarded by soldiers, but I have never had, nor thanks to the Lord, needed such a guard.

It has been said and written that the Sobaipuris and others farther on had killed Father Kino and all his people who went with him in the entry of 1698; but the fact is that in all parts they received us with the utmost kindness and, thanks be to the Lord, we are still living.

Toward the end of July of the past year it was re-

¹⁷¹ Yecora is on an upper branch of the Yaqui River in western Chihuahua.

¹⁷² Alegre alludes to these charges in his *Historia*, vol. iii, 101. The events to which he refers took place in 1697.

ported that the Soba nation was in commotion, and that we three¹⁷³ fathers were in great danger of our lives. Father Barillas was taken from La Concepcion,¹⁷⁴ and the garrison was summoned and came. But there was not then nor is there now the least of these pretended dangers.

Another great contradiction and opposition and very false report has been that the Pimeria has few people and does not need many fathers. But it is a very well established fact that it has more than fifteen thousand souls.

CHAPTER IV. VARIOUS ENTRIES TO THE NORTH-EAST¹⁷⁵ AND TO THE NORTH BY ORDER OF THE FATHER VISITOR, ORACIO POLISE; AND THE DELIVERY OF THE DISTRICT OF COCOSPORA TO FATHER PEDRO RUIS DE CONTRERAS

Nevertheless, in order that conditions might be investigated and the facts ascertained, the father visitor, Oracio Police, bade me make various entries, in which talks and instruction in Christian doctrine and in life somewhat civilized were given; and the very submissive natives gave me many little ones to baptize.

On the tenth of December I went to San Pablo de Quiburi, a journey of fifty leagues to the north, passing by Santa Maria and by Santa Cruz, of the Rio de San Joseph de Terrenate. I arrived at Quiburi on the fifteenth of December, bearing the paternal greetings which the father visitor sent to this principal and great

¹⁷³ That is, Kino, Campos, and Barrillas.

¹⁷⁴ This statement is an implied contradiction of Manje's assertion that Caborca was occupied only at times (*Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 46).

¹⁷⁵ This chapter is very important as giving the actual details of the preparations which Kino made for the missionaries in the San Pedro and Santa Cruz valleys. Except for Ortega's summary of it, these circumstances have not hitherto been clear. (Bancroft accepts Ortega at this point). No other authority states the number of trips made to these places by Kino in 1696 and 1697. See Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i, 263.

ranchería; for it has more than four hundred souls assembled together, and a fortification, or earthen enclosure, since it is on the frontier of the hostile Hocomes. As a result of the Christian teaching, the principal captain, called El Coro, gave me his little son to baptize, and he was named Oracio Polise; and the governor called El Bajon,^{175a} and others, gave me their little ones to christen. We began a little house of adobe for the father, within the fortification, and immediately afterward I put in a few cattle and a small drove of mares for the beginning of a little ranch.

On the thirteenth of January, 1697, I went in to the Sobaipuris of San Xavier del Bac. We took cattle, sheep, goats, and a small drove of mares. The ranch of San Luis del Bacoancos was begun with cattle. Also there were sheep and goats in San Cayetano, which the loyal children of the venerable Father Francisco Xavier Saeta had taken thither, having gathered them in Consecpcion at the time of the disturbances of 1695. At the same time, some cattle were placed in San Xavier del Bac, where I was received with all love by the many inhabitants of the great ranchería, and by many other principal men, who had gathered from various parts adjacent. The word of God was spoken to them, there were baptisms of little ones, and beginnings of good sowings and harvests of wheat for the father minister whom they asked for and hoped to receive.

On the seventeenth of March, 1697, I again went in to San Pablo de Quiburi.¹⁷⁶ I returned by way of San

^{175a} *El Coro* means "The Chorus"; *El Bajon* means "*The Bassoon*."

¹⁷⁶ Alegre by error puts in at this point the account of the Pima victory over the Apaches which occurred on March 30, 1698. He not only puts it under the date of 1697, but before the visit of the Pimas to Father Polici, related in the next chapter as occurring in October, 1697, and before the expedition of Bernal to the Gila, which was in part a result of the visit of Polici (Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, 100).

Geronimo, San Cayetano, and San Luys, looking in all places after the spiritual welfare of the natives, baptising some infants and sick persons, and consoling all with the very fatherly messages from the father visitor, and even from the Señor alcalde mayor and military commander, notifying them at the same time to be ready to go with the soldiers on the expedition against the enemies of the province,¹⁷⁷ the Hocomes, the Xanos, Sumas, and Apaches. With the same intent and purpose I again went in to San Pablo de Quiburi on the seventeenth of April, and they received me with crosses and arches placed in the road.

At this time I gave over the district of Cocospera¹⁷⁸ and Santa Maria to Father Pedro Ruis de Contreras, with complete vestments or supplies for saying mass, good beginnings of a church and a house, partly furnished, five hundred head of cattle, almost as many sheep and goats, two droves of mares, a drove of horses, oxen, crops, etc.¹⁷⁹

CHAPTER V. THE PRINCIPAL CAPTAINS AND GOVERNORS OF THIS PIMERIA GO TO SANTA MARIA DE BAZERACA TO SEE THE FATHER VISITOR AND ASK FOR FATHERS, A JOURNEY OF MORE THAN ONE HUNDRED AND THEN OF MORE THAN ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY LEAGUES¹⁸⁰

So great were the desires of the natives of this Pimeria to obtain missionary fathers that they determined

¹⁷⁷ This statement illustrates the part which virile missionaries like Kino played in the defence of the frontier.

¹⁷⁸ Notice that Kino's language implies that Cocóspera was the principal place and Santa María the subordinate. Bancroft states that early in 1697 Father Ruiz arrived and was put in Suamea, with Cocóspera as a *visita*.

¹⁷⁹ For references to events of this period see in volume ii, page 157, a letter to Kino by Father General Thirso González, dated December 27, 1698, in reply to one from Kino dated June 3, 1697. It is far out of place, and should be read in this connection.

¹⁸⁰ For another account of some of the events of this chapter, see Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, 101. He supplies a few details not given here.

to go to Santa Maria de Baceraca¹⁸¹ to ask them of the father visitor. Some had come the fifty, sixty, eighty, ninety, one hundred, and more leagues' journey to reach Nuestra Señora de los Dolores;¹⁸² and as there was still a journey of about one hundred leagues to Santa Maria de Baceraca, and as they had never gone so many leagues away from their country, I went with them through Sonora. In the Real de San Juan, in Oposura, and in Guasavas, through which we passed, both the seculars and the fathers received us with all kindness. On the sixth of October, day of Our Lady of the Rosary, we reached Santa Maria de Baceraca.

We were received with a thousand tendernesses and with such joy by the father visitor, Oracio Police, that his Reverence on the following day chanted a solemn mass to the three holy kings, who were the first gentiles who came to adore the Messiah—*Primitiæ Gentium*.¹⁸³ And his Reverence, through various inquiries, even secret, which he made and ordered made, was so well satisfied with the great loyalty of these Pimas that he wrote a very fine letter to the Señor military commander requesting that the Pimeria should be favored; that efforts should be made to secure for it the fathers which it needed and deserved, since thereby the province would be quieted and made rid of the hostile Jocomes and Xanos, who would retreat to the east (all of which was

¹⁸¹ On the upper Yaqui River. See *ante*, footnote 164.

¹⁸² Alegre states that they arrived at Dolores toward the end of September. This may be merely an inference from the foregoing, but it is evident that he had access to documents at this point which I have not seen. He states that chief Pacheco had brought his wife to Bacanutzi (Bacanuchi), thence to Dolores, thence to Toape, where she was baptized as Nicolasa, and that the coming in September was a second visit for the purpose (*Historia*, vol. iii, 101).

¹⁸³ "The first fruits of the Gentiles" (2 *Thess.*, ii, 12. *Quod elegerit vos Deus primitias in salutem*: "God hath chosen you first fruits unto Salvation").

afterward fulfilled to the letter) ; and that some soldiers should come into this Pimeria, at least as far as Quiburi, to see with their own eyes the good state of affairs and the ripeness of the very plentiful harvest of souls.¹⁸⁴ Having asked when the soldiers were coming to Quiburi, I was told the 7th of November. And the same day I entered also from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, with Captain Juan Matheo Manje.¹⁸⁵ Our intention was to penetrate forty or fifty leagues further inland, down the Rio de Quiburi, to the last Sobaipuris of the northeast and to the Rio de Jila, or Rio Grande, which is the same, for up to that time we had not penetrated so far inland by that route.

CHAPTER VI. GREAT AND PEACEFUL ENTRY OF TWENTY-TWO SOLDIERS TO THE RIO GRANDE AND THE LAST SOBAIPURIS¹⁸⁶

I arrived at Quiburi with Captain Juan Matheo Manje, my servants, and more than sixty horses and mules, intending to penetrate to the last Sobaipuris. In Quiburi I received a letter from the captain of the soldiers stating that they were on their way, and they arrived on November 9. We found the Pima natives

¹⁸⁴ Credit for suggesting an expedition by soldiers to the interior Pimas is here given to Father Polici. Manje takes the credit to himself. See *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, cap. 5, first paragraph: "y por estinguir yo el mal Concepto, con q nos abrasavan la venida de Evangelicos operarios pa. su Reducción con Cautela suplique al Genl. mi tio entrase una escuadra de soldados en conpa. del Pr. Kino y mia, a esta descubrimiento" (p. 49).

¹⁸⁵ Kino and Manje left Dolores on November 2, with ten Indian servants, thirty horses, and presents for the Indians. They went *via* Remedios, Cocospera (where Father Pedro Ruíz de Contreras was stationed) San Lázaro, Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea (here they were met by Bernal with the soldiers) and Quiburi where they arrived on the 9th (Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, cap. 15). Bernal in his diary says that he overtook Kino at Quiburi on the ninth. Kino gives circumstantial evidence to show the same thing, but Manje says that Bernal joined them on the seventh at Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea (Diary, Nov. 7).

¹⁸⁶ The principal authorities for this *entrada*, aside from the present work, are Manje's account in diary form (but with subsequent additions)

of Quiburi very jovial and very friendly. They were dancing over scalps and the spoils of fifteen enemies,¹⁸⁷ Hocomes and Janos, whom they had killed a few days before. This was so pleasing to us that the Señor Captain Christobal Martin Bernal, the Señor alférez, the sergeant, and many others, entered the circle and danced merrily in company with the natives. More and more the captain was disposed to penetrate farther with me; but many were of the opinion that it was impossible to go further and among the last Sobaipuris without two hundred men. To this I replied that one could penetrate to the last Sobaipuris as safely as one could go to Sonora, for their principal captains, El Humari, his two sons, and others, had come to be catechised and baptized, after Easter, during the previous months;¹⁸⁸ that Captain Humari had been named Francisco Eusebio, and his sons, now well-grown, one Francisco Xavier and the other Oracio Polise; that for a long time they had been inviting me most amicably to go to see them in their rancherías, lands, and valleys, which are about one hundred and twenty leagues¹⁸⁹ from

in *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, cap. 15, and the reports written by Bernal. These include a letter to Father Polici declaring the quiet state in which the Sobaipuris were found, dated at N. S. de los Dolores, December 2, 1697, and attested by Kino, Escalante, Acuña, and Barcelona. With this is Bernal's diary of the expedition beginning November 4 at Frontera de Santa Rosa de Corodéguaichi, and ending at Dolores December 4, 1697. This also is witnessed by Kino and the others named. My copy is from the original Ms. in the Archivo General, Mexico, *Misiones*, vol. 26, and is labeled "Vista y puesta en su lugar. X.A." [Xavier Alegre]. Secondary authorities for this *entrada* are Ortega, *Apostólicos Afanes*, book ii, chap. vi, where he gives a brief summary of the *Favores*; Alegre, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesus*, vol. iii, 102, makes brief mention of the expedition and quotes from Bernal's letter to Polici.

¹⁸⁷ Kino says fifteen scalps, but Bernal gives the number as thirteen.

¹⁸⁸ Manje states that it was the previous year that Humari was baptized (see Diary, entry for November 13). Kino doubtless knew the facts in the case.

¹⁸⁹ Manje estimates two hundred leagues. *Ibid.*

Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. Thereupon it was decided that the soldiers also should go.

The following day, November 10,¹⁹⁰ the day of the Patronage of Most Holy Mary, the two captains, Christoval Martin Bernal and Juan Matheo Manje, confessed and received communion, and we all together undertook the expedition¹⁹¹ of about thirty-five leagues to the north, by the same river and valley of Quiburi. We met with the first Sobaipuris and with Captain Humari¹⁹² himself, who had come three days' journey to meet us. Afterward, in seven or eight large rancherías we found more than two thousand souls, all very friendly and industrious Indians,¹⁹³ who, on hearing the

¹⁹⁰ Both Manje and Bernal say that they stopped at Quiburi, starting on the eleventh.

¹⁹¹ Manje gives his itinerary as Dolores, Cocóspora, San Lázaro, Santa María, San Joaquín de Basосуca, Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea, Quiburi, Paraje de los Álamos, Cusac, Jiaspi, Muyva, Arivavia, Tutoyda, Comarsuta, La Victoria (Busac and Tubo near-by), San Gregorio Taumaturgo, Casas Grandes, Tusónimo, San Andrés, past a tank or Algive, Santa Catarina de Cuituabagu, Valle de Correa, San Agustín de Oiaur, San Xavier del Bac, San Caietano del Tumagácori, Guevavi, Bacuancos, San Lázaro, Santiago de Cocóspora, Los Remedios, Dolores (compare names given by Bernal).

¹⁹² Manje shows that Humari's village was Victoria de Ojio, the last on the river to the north. Both Kino and Venegas place it east of the river.

¹⁹³ Manje gives the following picture of the Indian settlements in the San Pedro valley: Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea, a village of one hundred persons, west of the river, contained twenty-five houses. They had irrigating ditches and raised extensive crops. At Kino's request they had built a house of adobe, beams, and *terrado*, and were tending for him about one hundred cattle. A league below was Quiburi, home of Captain Coro, head Pima chief. In great valleys they raised by irrigation large quantities of maize, frijoles, and cotton, the last of which they used for clothing. Quiburi had five hundred souls. Coro entertained the Spaniards in an earth-covered house of adobe, built for the purpose. For twenty-five leagues down the river all the villages had been abandoned within a year, on account of war between Chiefs Coro and Humari. At the end of that stretch was Cusac, of seventy souls, and two leagues beyond, Jiaspi, or Rosario, a village of one hundred twenty persons and twenty-seven houses. Here they were met by Chief Humari, who had already been baptized at Dolores. The visitors were received in a specially prepared house of poles and reeds. Here as at Cusac and elsewhere, plentiful crops were raised of calabashes, frijoles, maize, and

Word of God and receiving good treatment offered us many little ones to baptize. We gave many staffs of justices, governors, and captains. In all parts they gave us many of their eatables, and always there were provisions enough and to spare, without the soldiers having brought them from the presidio for so long a journey. Nor did we ever find the least trace of the droves of horses which so falsely had been charged to these innocent Sobaipuris. For it was not they who had stolen them,¹⁹⁴ but the hostile Jocomes, Xanos, etc., a vindication as worthy of being known as it is plainly set forth in the two long relations¹⁹⁵ of the two captains who went on this expedition.

CHAPTER VII. ARRIVAL AT THE RIO GRANDE AND
CASA GRANDE AND THE RETURN TO NUESTRA
SEÑORA DE LOS DOLORES, HAVING TRAVELLED IN
GOING AND RETURNING MORE THAN
TWO HUNDRED AND SEVENTY
LEAGUES IN PIMERIA

Travelling always by the valleys of the Rio de Quiburi, we arrived at the Rio Grande, or Rio de Hila. And following its bank and its very large cottonwood

cotton, which was dextrously woven. Through the mediation of the Spaniards, Coro and Humari now became reconciled. A league below Jiaspi was Muyva and within the next six leagues four more villages, the last being Arivavia. The four aggregated five hundred persons living in one hundred and thirty houses, made of poles and reeds, in the form of "dome and gallery." Three leagues below was Tutoyda, of one hundred souls; three more leagues brought them to Comarsuta, of eighty souls, and three to La Victoria de Ojio, a village of three hundred and eighty persons, and home of chief Humari. This was the last village before reaching the Gila, but off the road and near by were Busac and Tubo, comprising eighty-five men. Thus, in the valley below Santa Cruz lived more than two thousand people in fourteen villages, chief of which were Quiburi and La Victoria, headquarters of Coro and Humari, respectively. Compare Bernal's account.

¹⁹⁴ Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 53, also mentions the fact that they saw no indications of horses.

¹⁹⁵ He refers to the diaries and reports of Manje and Bernal.

groves, after travelling three days'¹⁹⁶ journey to the west, we arrived at the Casa Grande¹⁹⁷ and its neighboring rancherías. As we journeyed we always had on the right hand¹⁹⁸ and in sight, but on the other bank of the river, the very extensive Apachería. The soldiers were much delighted to see the Casa Grande. We marveled at seeing that it was about a league from the river and without water; but afterward we saw that it had a large aqueduct with a very great embankment, which must have been three *varas* high and six or seven wide—wider than the causeway of Guadalupe at Mexico.¹⁹⁹ This very great aqueduct, as is still seen, not only conducted the water from the river to the Casa Grande, but at the same time, making a great turn, it watered and enclosed a champaign many leagues in length and breadth, and of very level and very rich land. With ease, also, one could now restore and roof the house and repair the great aqueduct for a very good pueblo, for there are near by six or seven rancherías of Pimas Sobaipuris²⁰⁰ all of whom in all places received us very kindly, with crosses and arches erected and with many of their eatables, and, with great pleasure to themselves, gave us many little ones to baptize. On one occasion, when several of our horses had been scattered and lost,

¹⁹⁶ As a matter of fact, they were less than two full days, according to Manje. On the sixteenth, after having reached the junction, they went three leagues and camped; on the seventeenth they went ten leagues; on the eighteenth, nine leagues to camp. Bernal gives the same report as to the time, making the distance less.

¹⁹⁷ Manje, entry for the eighteenth (*Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 57) gives a detailed description of the Casas Grandes. The largest of these, he says, was three stories high, except the principal room, which was four. The walls were two feet thick.

¹⁹⁸ Both Manje and Bernal make it clear that they journeyed some distance south of the river.

¹⁹⁹ See Manje's description.

²⁰⁰ Manje describes a ranchería on both banks, a league away, numbering one hundred and thirty souls. They were afraid of the horses and soldiers, never having seen any before (Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 58).

they at once went in search of them, nor did they give up until they had collected them all for us.

We very promptly passed on by the ranchería of la Encarnación²⁰¹ and arrived at that of San Andrés,²⁰² where the excellent Captain Juan de Palacios (who had been at Santa Maria de Baseraca, travelling in going and returning four hundred leagues) welcomed us with all affection, and with so many arches and crosses that they reached for more than two leagues. And, having spoken at San Andres with some of the Cocomaricopas, and even sent them messages that they might carry them to the not very distant Moquis of New Mexico, on the twenty-first of November, 1697, we began the return to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. We passed by the great ranchería and great valley of San Xavier del Bac,²⁰³ in which and its environs we saw and counted more than six thousand people, all very domestic and very friendly. We found and killed cattle, sheep, and goats, and found even bread, fresh and very

²⁰¹ Manje states that four leagues west of the Casa Grande they reached the ranchería of *Tusónimo*, where there was a mound of mountain goat horns like a hill, the goat being their common food. Manje estimated one hundred thousand horns in the pile and two hundred souls in the village. This is the ranchería which they called La Encarnación (Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 59; Bernal, *Relacion*, 12).

²⁰² Leaving at Tusónimo (La Encarnación) the horses and soldiers under Barzelona, twelve soldiers went down stream seven leagues (Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 59). Kino was still with them (Bernal, *Relacion*, 12). Going seven leagues they came to the ranchería of San Andrés, where lived Juan de Palacios, who had gone with Kino to Bazeraca and been baptized, being named in honor of the provincial of Mexico. Four hundred persons lived here (Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 59).

²⁰³ Manje (*Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 60) states that they started home by way of Santa Catarina de Cuituabagu, La Valle de Correa, San Agustín de Oiaur, San Xavier del Bac, Tumagácori, Guevavi, Bacuancos, San Lázaro, Cocóspera, Los Remedios, and thence to Dolores. Bernal gives the same list except that he omits Bacuancos and San Lázaro. There is a slight discrepancy also in the dates given by the two accounts. Manje (*op. cit.*, libro ii, 63), has them at Guevavi on the twenty-seventh, then passing on to Bacuancos. Bernal has them in San Gayetano on the twenty-seventh, and in Guevavi on the twenty-eighth.

good, which they baked for us in the new oven which I had ordered at San Xavier del Bac. We arrived in time to celebrate the Feast of San Francisco Xavier on the third of December,²⁰⁴ in the church of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, with the chanting of mass and many confessions and communions, etc., in thanksgiving for so successful an entry, of which the captains and I wrote in long relations of four or five sheets.²⁰⁵ This entry was well received by all good men, because of the abundant and very clear evidence which was thereby secured as to whether the farthest Sobaipuris were good or bad, friends or enemies, involved and culpable, or innocent of the robberies and hostilities of this province. The father provincial wrote a very fine letter, and promised fathers for this Pimeria, and sent them; but the usual obstacles were not lacking to delay everything, or almost everything.²⁰⁶

CHAPTER VIII. ANOTHER ENTRY TO THE WEST WITH A FATHER AND THE SENOR LIEU- TENANT OF THIS PIMERIA²⁰⁷

Of the fathers whom the father provincial sent us, one was Father Gaspar de las Barillas,²⁰⁸ who came

²⁰⁴ According to Bernal they reached Dolores at 2 p.m. of December 2 (18). Manje says they arrived on December 1, but the preceding paragraph indicates that it was the second.

²⁰⁵ He clearly refers to Bernal's reports, which he and others signed.

²⁰⁶ Sommervogel lists a map of New Mexico by Kino dated 1697, which may have been connected with this expedition. "*Le P. Kino dresse en 1697 une carte du Nouveau-Mexique, d'après la relation Ms. du P. Estevan de Perea. De L'Isle s'en servoit pour la sienne.*" (*Mém. de Trév.*, 1703, p. 676). Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, vol. 4, cols. 1044-1045. Quoted by Lowery, *A Description List of Maps*, p. 216.

²⁰⁷ The principal authorities for the events of this chapter, aside from the present, are Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 6; Ortega, *Apostólicos Afanes*, 270; Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, 89.

²⁰⁸ Alegre (*Historia*, vol. iii, 89) states that Kino brought Barrillas back with him in 1696. Manje (*Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 46) implies the same. But see *ante*, page 160.

from Arispe to this mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores at the end of January; and having solemnized here the Feast of Candlemas, on February 3²⁰⁹ we went inland to the Soba nation to the westward, that his Reverence might choose one of the three new posts, Tubutama, Concepcion, or Tucubabia, where, in each place, there were some beginnings of a mission, some baptisms, a house, cattle, crops, etc. With us went the present lieutenant of this Pimeria, Juan Ramos Sarmiento, and his predecessor, Captain Juan Matheo Manje. In all places we were received with all love and comfort, both to the natives and to ourselves. Also, we counted more than three thousand souls. Father Barrillas chose La Concepcion as a good site for a mission, and returned to Arispe for his baggage, etc., and to keep Holy Week and supply himself with what the superiors ordered given him. He entered La Concepcion in June, but because of certain pretended dangers, which have existed neither then nor since, as the soldiers went in and ascertained, he left in July and has not returned.

CHAPTER IX. THE HOSTILE HOCOMES AND XANOS
ATTACK COCOSPORA, AND BURN THE CHURCH
AND THE FATHER'S HOUSE²¹⁰

The revolted Hocomes, Sumas, and Apaches, who, ever since the uprising of the Xanos have been the avowed enemies of this province of Sonora, after so

²⁰⁹ Ortega (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 270), says February 3, 1697, instead of 1698.

²¹⁰ Accounts of this event are given in Kino's *Breve Relación de la Insigne Victoria*; Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, cap. 5 (65-66); Ortega, *Apostólicos Afanes*, 270-271; Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, 100-101. References are made to it in Kino's *Colocación de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios*. It is clear that both Alegre and Ortega used the *Favores* for their accounts. Since writing the foregoing sentences I have acquired a report of the event by Jironza to the viceroy, dated at San Juan Bautista, Sonora, May 16, 1698 (A.G.I. 67-3-28).

According to Bernal, on September 15, 1697, the Sobaipuris of the north-

many robberies, damages, and murders which they have for so many years and so continuously perpetrated all over the province and on its frontiers, on the twenty-fifth of February, 1697,²¹¹ made an attack on Cocospora,²¹² at a time when the pueblo was without men, for they had gone inland to barter maize; and although one of the enemy was left dead, they killed two Indian women, sacked the pueblo, burned it, the church, and also the house of the father, who was defended by the few natives who had remained. The enemy carried off some horses and all the small stock, and retired to the hills. A few from Cocospora followed him, but when he saw them coming he ambushed them and killed nine of them. The garrison planned to make an expedition inland, and we notified the natives that

east and of San Xavier del Bac attacked the Jocomes, killing four and taking two children prisoners; on October 26 they attacked the Jocomes and killed thirteen; and in December reconnoitered the country of the enemy (*Relación del Estado*). It would seem that the attacks on Cocóspera and Quiburi were in retaliation for these Pima aggressions.

²¹¹ This date should be 1698, although Kino elsewhere gives it as 1697. Kino correctly gives it as 1698 in his *Breve Relación* written May 3, 1698, just after the event and in his *Relación Diaria* of 1698. Manje (*Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 65) gives the date 1698; Kino, in his *Colocación*, written in 1698, refers to the attack of September 15, 1697, as the first attack of the Jocomes; and refers to the subsequent fight of March 30, "de este presente año de 98" (2); Alegre erroneously gives the date as 1697; Bancroft gives the date 1698, but Ortega (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 270-271) carelessly follows Kino's *Favores*; Alegre tells of a previous attack on the pueblo of Jesus María, but puts this event before the expedition of 1697 to the Gila (*Historia*, vol. iii, 100). Jironza, reporting the event, gives the date as March 30, 1698 (letter to viceroy, May 16, 1698. A.G.I. 67-3-28).

²¹² Manje (*Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 83) in recounting this attack on Cocóspera, tells of Father Ruíz's brave resistance, aided by the Indian governor, Juan María. According to him the enemy was three hundred strong. He tells of the burning of the house but not of the church; he says that the presidials and Pimas overtook the enemy in Sierra de Chiguicagui, killed thirty, captured sixteen, and recovered some horses. Kino's account gives a different impression. Manje adds that because of the burning of the mission Father Ruíz and the neophytes abandoned it (*Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 83).

they should provide themselves with arms to accompany the soldiers.²¹³ In the meantime, while the enemy was being despoiled of the supplies which he had taken from Cocospera, he made an attack on the ranchería of Santa Cruz de Quiburi, on the twenty-ninth of March, day of the Feast of the Resurrection of our Lord.

²¹³ Kino, in his *Breve Relación*, mentions the same preparation for a campaign. Jironza gives more detail. He tells (letter to viceroy, May 16, 1698) that he arranged to make a joint expedition with two hundred or three hundred Pima allies, and was awaiting them, ready to set out, when he heard the news of the victory of March 30, 1698.

BOOK VI. VICTORY OF THE PIMAS OVER
THE ENEMIES OF THIS PROVINCE OF
SONORA, THE HOCOMES, XANOS, SU-
MAS, MANSOS, AND APACHES²¹⁴

CHAPTER I. THE HOSTILE JOCOMES, XANOS, ETC.,
ATTACK THE RANCHERIA OF SANTA
CRUZ DE QUIBURI²¹⁵

MARCH 30, 1698.^{215a} The avowed enemies, the Hocomes, Sumas, Mansos, and Apaches, who between great and small numbered about six hundred, persuading themselves that they could accomplish in Santa Cruz del Rio de Quiburi what they had done the month before in the pueblo of Cocospera, showed their arrogance by attacking the ranchería at daybreak on the morning of March 30. They killed its captain and two or three others, and forced them to retreat to their fortification, which consisted of a house of adobe and earth with embrasures.²¹⁶ But the enemy, defending themselves and covering themselves with many buckskins, approached the fortification, climbed upon its

²¹⁴ For other accounts of this episode, see Kino, *Breve Relación*; Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, 65-66; Ortega, *Apostólicos Afanes*, 270-271; Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i, 274; Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, 100-101 (under 1697, erroneously). A newly discovered source is Jironza's letter to the viceroy, May 16, 1698 (A.G.I. 67-3-28).

²¹⁵ Kino calls it Santa Cruz de Quiburi; Manje (*Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 65) Santa Cruz de Taybanipitca; Alegre (*Historia*, vol. iii, 100) Santa Cruz de Cuervo.

^{215a} The text reads 1697, but this is a slip. See *ante*, page 176, footnote 211.

²¹⁶ Manje states that this fortification was the adobe house built by the Indians at the instance of the Spaniards—evidently since Kino's visit in 1697 (*op. cit.*). Kino, in his *Breve Relación*, states that they "retreated to their corral and fortification of *adobe y terrado*."

roof, destroying and burning it, and with a shot killed one man,²¹⁷ for they had one of the arquebuses which on other occasions they had taken from the soldiers. They sacked and burned the ranchería, killed three cattle and three mares of the ranch which I had here, and began to roast and stew meat and beans, and to parch and grind maize for their *pinole*, both the men and the women, who had all fought as equals, considering themselves as already quite victorious.

CHAPTER II. CAPTAIN CORO WITH HIS PIMAS OF QUIBURI COMES TO THE RESCUE, AND THEY KILL MORE THAN THREE HUNDRED HOSTILE JOCOMES, MANSOS, SUMAS, AND APACHES

But meantime the news reached the neighboring ranchería of Quiburi, which is a league and a half from Santa Cruz, and immediately its captain, called El Coro, came to the rescue with his brave people, together with other Pimas who had come from the west to barter for maize, and who contributed to the fortunate outcome of the event,²¹⁸ for they were supplied with the arms which we had bidden them to provide to go on the expedition with the soldiers of the presidio. The captain of the enemy, called El Capotcari,²¹⁹ proposed—for with Captain Coro came many Pimas—that they should fight, ten on one side and ten on the other. Captain Coro accepted the proposal, and selected ten Pimas,

²¹⁷ Manje says that they killed three Pimas. Kino accounts for four or five dead. Jironza says that four were killed and ten wounded.

²¹⁸ Manje says that five hundred came to the rescue of Quiburi, where they had gathered to go with the soldiers in a campaign against the enemy, doubtless the campaign referred to by Jironza. Kino (*Breve Relación*) says that they came "From the environs of San Javier del Bac." When near the Gila in October, 1698, Kino learned that the chief of San Bonifacio, whom he met, had been, with his braves, among those who aided in the victory at Quiburi (*Relación Diaria*).

²¹⁹ Alegre gives the name "Capoteari."

while Captain Capotcari selected ten others, the most valiant of all he had. Five were Apaches, as was also one of the other five.

They began shooting their arrows, and, as the Pimas are very dexterous in shooting and also in parrying the arrows of their adversaries, and as the Apaches, although dexterous in shooting arrows and with the lance, are not dexterous in parrying the arrows, five Pimas soon wounded the five Apaches who were their antagonists, as did four other Pimas their adversaries, the Hocomes and Xanos. Captain Capotcari was very skillful in catching the arrows, but his opponent, a valiant Pima, grappled with him and, struggling, threw him to the ground and beat his head with stones.²²⁰ Thereupon all the rest of the enemy began to flee, and the Pimas followed them through all those woods and hills for more than four leagues, killing and wounding more than three hundred, of whom fifty-odd²²¹ remained dead and stretched out nearby, and the rest, as they were wounded with the poisonous herb, died along

²²⁰ Manje does not tell this remarkable tale, nor, strangely enough, does Kino tell it in his *Breve Relación*, written May 3-October 25, especially to report the event. Kino's account therein of the victory is as follows: "And having conferred mouth to mouth with the principal captain of the hostile Jocomes, called Copotiari (Capotcari), said Copotiari said that Captain Coro and all his Pima men were not men but women; that the Spaniards with whom he had been joined by the *padres* were not brave; that he frequently had killed many of them and of the soldiers likewise. Thereupon the Pimas became so angered that a valiant fellow came up and knocked him down and pounded him, and the rest proceeded with like valor. They pursued their companions more than two leagues, killing them, so that there escaped only six, who were riding as many horses belonging to Cocospera." Jironza tells the story of the individual combat, much as Kino gives it here in the *Favores* (Letter to viceroy, May 16, 1698).

²²¹ Manje (*Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 66) says that sixty enemies were killed and one hundred sixty-eight died of poisoned arrows. Jironza says that thirty-two men and twenty-two women were killed, and many wounded, all of whom would die, "because of our knowledge of the very strong poison from the herb with which they prepare their arrows."

the trails. The remainder, about three hundred, went after this ill fortune, and from fear of the Pimas, as they confessed, to ask and to offer peace in the presidio of Xanos to Señor General Juan Fernandez de la Fuente, in El Passo, New Mexico,²²² to Maestre de Campo²²³ Luys Granillo, and in the pueblo of Socorro, as the letters and authentic reports from there attested. And there have remained still in revolt only sixteen braves and twenty-seven non-combatants.²²⁴

CHAPTER III. THE REPORTS OF THIS VICTORY
WERE WELL RECEIVED IN ALL PARTS, AND
IN THE REAL DE SAN JUAN WITH
RINGING OF BELLS²²⁵

Captain Coro and the natives informed me immediately of the occurrence by a messenger, sending me the news and the count of the dead on a long stick. By another messenger I advised the Señor military commander and other fathers and seculars in the Real de San Juan and in other parts, of the fortunate event, and they responded with great joy and pleasure. The Señor military commander said that this victory would serve for the complete relief of all the province; and he agreed to give the presents which his Lordship two months before had promised these Pimas if they would strike a good blow. The father visitor wrote that he was giving

²²² Manje (*Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 66) says that the Janos separated from the Apache to make peace at El Paso.

²²³ A militia officer of superior rank commanding a division of troops. Compare the French *mestre de camp*, a colonel of infantry or cavalry. The *maestre de campo* was a common official on the northern frontier in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

²²⁴ *De Chusma*. "Muchedumbre de familias de Indios, excepto los hombres de guerra, ó sea conjunto de mujeres, niños, y viejos que componen una tolderia ó campamento de Indios." I.e. non-combatants.

²²⁵ This chapter is in part almost an exact copy of Kino's *Breve Relación* of May 3, 1698.

a thousand thanks to his Divine Majesty for the very fortunate event. The father rector of Matape dedicated a mass and a solemn feast to the Most Holy Trinity for the good fortune. The Señor lieutenant of the Real de San Juan ²²⁶ said: "To your Reverence and to all the province I give hearty congratulations for so happy a victory of the natives; and here we are all felicitating both our Lord and Most Holy Mary, and ringing the bells for it." Captain Pedro Garzia de Almazan gave thanks on his own behalf and on behalf of the citizens of the Real de San Juan and of the Real de Nacosari; and he offered ²²⁷ and gave presents for those Pimas, as did also the father rector of Matape, Father Juan Muños de Burgos, and Captain Francisco de Escarsega.

Nevertheless, the opposition of those ill disposed could not fail, as the letter of a certain prominent person indicates, in these words: "We are greatly rejoiced at the good news and the victory of the Pimas, and that the excellence of their work may be seen and the lie be given to many opponents who calumniated them with falsehoods." Whereupon, I called the Señor lieutenant of this Pimeria to draw up the certificate and legalized investigation of what had happened. I went in the fifty leagues to Santa Cruz de Quiburi, and on the twenty-third of April we viewed the dead bodies of the enemy. We encountered the twenty-two soldiers who also, because of the incredulous, had come in, by way of Terrenate, and who were actually investigating the

²²⁶ Antonio Morales. (See Kino, *Breve Relación*).

²²⁷ They offered five hundred *pesos* in clothing (Kino, *Breve Relación*). Jironza tells us that before this victory, through his lieutenant and "Padre Quino" he had promised the Pimas two thousand *pesos* in clothing, and that he would gladly keep his promise now, since a campaign would cost more than that amount in *pinole*, meat, and tobacco (letter of May 16, 1698).

above mentioned and contradicted deaths. We saw and counted fifty-four corpses nearby, thirty-one of men, and twenty-three of women. The natives gave us various spoils, which we brought away with us, among them an arquebus, powder, and balls, a leathern jacket, buffalo and deer skins, bows and arrows, and scalps of the above mentioned enemies. Of the Pima natives in the ranchería of Santa Cruz five died, and nine were wounded but recovered.²²⁸

²²⁸ This paragraph is taken directly from Kino's *Breve Relación*. Manje (*Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 66) states that it was Alférez Juan de Escalante, who, with Manje and twenty soldiers, went to certify to the deaths. He states that for seven leagues they followed the battle-march, counting sixty dead, and that it was reported that one hundred and sixty-eight died of poisoned arrows. He says nothing of Kino's part in spreading the news nor of his going to count the dead. Jironza tells us that he sent Escalante with twenty-five men to view the signs of the victory and to enlist the Pimas to pursue the enemy. The Pimas made excuses, and he did not urge them, since there were "recent allies" (letter of May 16, 1698). Kino took advantage of the victory above recounted to appeal for ten or twelve new missionaries. Indeed, this was the purpose for which the *Breve Relación* was written.

CHAPTER IV. ANOTHER GREAT EXPEDITION TO
THE COAST OF THE SEA OF CALIFORNIA, IN WHICH
ARE DISCOVERED AND REDUCED MORE THAN FOUR
THOUSAND NEW PIMA INDIANS, WHO GIVE US
FOUR HUNDRED AND THIRTY-FIVE
INFANTS TO BAPTIZE ²²⁹

This journey,²³⁰ or mission, I relate in the letter which I wrote to the father visitor, and is as follows:

MY FATHER VISITOR ORACIO POLISE, *Pax Christi*:
In obedience to your Reverence's charge that I should

²²⁹ The principal original authorities for this first exploration of a route through southwestern Arizona have been: Kino, *Relación Diaria de la Entrada al nortueste* of which the editor discovered the original (see "Bibliography"); Kino, *Carta del Padre Eusebio Kino al Padre visitador Horacio Polici acerca de una entrada al Noroeste* (see "Bibliography"). This letter is almost identical with the one copied by Kino in the present chapter, and, although the latter is dated October 20, yet there can be little doubt but that it should be the eighteenth. Bancroft did not have access to the diary, and asserted that it was not extant, this being another example of an unfortunate tendency of that author, who seemed to think that he had all the material that could ever be assembled. He says: "accompanied by Captain Diego Carrasco instead of Mange, an unfortunate substitute for the historical student, as the original diary is not extant" (*North Mexican States and Texas*, vol. i, 266); again: "but unfortunately, Manje's place was taken by Captain Carrasco, and no particulars affecting Arizona are extant" (*Arizona and New Mexico*, 357). Alegre (*Historia*, vol. iii, 103-104) used Kino's diary, and Ortega (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 272-273) summarizes the *Favores*, but does not use the diary, for which Alegre criticises him (*op. cit.*). Bancroft draws a wrong inference from the date October 20, copied by Ortega from the letter of October 18. He says of the letter of the eighteenth: "This is a hasty letter written before he had time to copy his regular diary, which was sent on October twentieth" (*North Mexican States*, vol. i, 266). It seems improbable that Kino would have sent two identical letters two days apart. As a matter of fact, the copy of the diary contained at the back of the *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro, i, is dated December 8, 1698. This copy was used by Bandelier as early as 1890, but he evidently did not study Kino's route carefully. (See *Final Report*, vol. i, 111). The editor was the discoverer of the original of the diary, and is the first to make extensive use of it.

Not only has the original of Kino's diary been recovered, but, still further

²³⁰ Bancroft follows Kino, *Carta*, October 18; Ortega, *Apostólicos Afanes*, 272-274; Alegre, *Historia Compañía de Jesus*, vol. iii, 203-204 (Alegre saw Kino's diary); Venegas, *Noticia*, vol. ii, 91-92; Lockman, *Travels*, vol. i, 355.

go inland to the exploration of the northwest coast and the disemboquement of the Rio Grande into the Sea of California, in order to report to the father provincial and his Excellency, who command that the new conversions be encouraged and that a hand be given²³¹ to Father Juan Maria Salvatierra by way of northwest, I went in, travelling in going and returning more than three hundred leagues. I took with me Captain Diego Carrasco, present lieutenant of this Pimeria, who also gives an account of what has happened and been seen, to the Señor alcalde mayor and military commander of this province.²³² And now that I have just arrived with

setting aside Bancroft's view, the editor has recently secured a diary of the expedition kept by Carrasco, together with Jironza's instructions to Carrasco and his report to the viceroy. These new materials constitute an *expediente* in the Archivo de Indias (67-3-28). They comprise (a) a report by Jironza to the viceroy on May 16, 1698, recounting the Pima victory of March 30; (b) Jironza's instructions to Captain Diego Carrasco, September 15, 1698 (he was expressly instructed to hunt for a quicksilver mine reported to be in the Sobaipuris nation, to give staves of office to the chiefs, and not to leave Kino till he should be restored to his mission); (c) Carrasco's official diary, called *Diario fecho*, etc., a close copy or paraphrase of Kino's diary; (d) a report by Carrasco to Jironza, dated at Dolores, October 18, and giving a brief account of the expedition; (e) a report by Jironza to the viceroy, recounting the expedition, San Juan Baptista, March 8, 1699; (f) a *dictamen fiscal* concerning the matter by Lic. Baltazar de Tobar, Mexico, October 19, 1699.

²³¹ This phrase corrects a mistake in the *Memorias* version of the *Carta* of October 18. That reads "y se le demonsro al P. Juan Maria," etc. This and the *Relasion Diaria* read "y se le de mano al Pe. Ju. Maria," etc. In the *Relasion Diaria* Kino states that the journey was made in obedience to a letter by Visitor Polici to Father Mora, rector, and transmitted to Kino, who incorporates part of Father Mora's letter. Kino notes that for some months he had been in poor health, but, nevertheless, he assembled the necessary outfit and set out with twenty-five horses. Forty had been sent ahead five days before to Bac and twenty others were to set out ten days afterward for Caborca, to meet them for the return journey.

²³² Domingo Jironza Petris de Cruzat. It is interesting to note the slightly differing emphasis of Kino and Jironza (who were the best of friends) in speaking of the aims of the expedition. In his instructions to Carrasco (September 15, 1698, A.G.I., 67-3-28) Jironza recites that "Quino" has reported that he is "about to make a journey to explore the Rio Grande

all prosperity, thanks be to the Lord, while I am making a fair copy of the daily relation, with its map,²³³ I report to your Reverence how, on the twenty-second of September, day of the most holy name of Most Holy Mary, we set out from this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores with the governor of this place and seven other persons, my servants, and with more than sixty pack animals, going inland toward the north and north-west²³⁴ to the Rio and Casa Grande, a journey of more than one hundred leagues.²³⁵ In the ranchería of La Encarnacion, that of San Andres, and in those nearby, we were received with all kindness, with crosses and arches erected, and with many of their eatables, by more than one thousand souls, men and women. In the ranchería of San Andres there came to render us obedience the Opas²³⁶ and Cocomaricopas, who are a people of very distinct dress, features, and language,²³⁷ though connected by marriage with the Pimas, and very affable

and its disemboquement into the California Sea." Therefore, since the journey is through hostile country Carrasco is ordered to go to assist Kino, keep a diary, give Saints' names to the Indian villages, count the inhabitants, make note of water supply and distances, appoint and give *bastones* of office to governors of the villages, "and especially" to do his best to discover the quicksilver mine reported among the Sobaipuris.

²³³ I have not seen this map, nor have I seen any other mention of it.

²³⁴ Kino's *Carta* has it "Norte y Noreste."

²³⁵ The *Relasion Diaria* gives the following itinerary: Dolores, Los Remedios, San Lázaro, Bacoancos, Guebavi, San Cayetano, San Xavier del Bac, San Agustín del Oyaut, San Clemente, Santa Catalina del Caitoabagum, the Algive (tank), Encarnación (on the Gila); San Andrés, San Angelo del Botum, San Bonifacio del Coati y del Sibuidag, San Francisco del Adid, Anagam, Cubit tubig and Gaga near-by), San Serafin, three unnamed villages, Nuestra Señora de la Merced del Batqui, or Bat Ki (Baggibuributa or Babgituretuto and Ooteam near-by), San Rafael del Actum Grande, San Marcelo del Sonoidag, San Serguio, Santa Brigida, toward the sea, up Cerro de Santa Brigida (Santa Clara), San Marcelo, San Luis Bertrando del Bacapa, San Eduardo del Baipia, Caborca, San Diego del Pitquín, Santa Teresa del Addi, Tubutama (here Kino received a letter from Captain Bernal), Tuputi, Magdalena, Dolores, reached October 18.

²³⁶ The Opas are not mentioned in the *Carta*.

²³⁷ This passage corrects the *Carta*, which says: "*Que es gente de mas instinto y mejor semblante y trage como en su hidioma, pero muy afable.*"

and docile. They desire to be Christians like the Pimas. We comforted them, giving them a captain, a governor, and a fiscal mayor, good hopes of salvation,²³⁸ and friendly messages for all their nation, etc.

Afterward we set out for the south, the southwest, and the west, going about eighty leagues,²³⁹ and, arriving at the Sea of California, under the lee of the estuary of the Rio Grande we found a very good port or bay in thirty-two degrees' latitude, with fresh water and timber. It must be the port which the ancient geographers called the Puerto de Santa Clara.²⁴⁰ Its entrance trends from southwest to northeast, and it has a mountain chain to the west. We came from the Rio Grande to La Concepcion, reconnoitering the whole northwest coast, which is more than ninety²⁴¹ leagues long, from north to south, and has more than forty rancherías, great and small together, all the people so friendly, so docile, and so affable, that in all places they received us in houses made ready, with crosses and arches erected, giving us many of their very plentiful *pitajayas*, and hares, deer, rabbits, etc., from their hunts, and with much rejoicing, feasts, dances, and songs by day and by night. We counted in these rancherías more than four thousand persons, and they gave us to baptize four hundred and thirty-five little ones, for the most of whom Captain Diego Carrasco was godfather. In the single ranchería of San Francisco del Adid,²⁴² to which we

The *Relacion Diaria* says: "*vimos como el traje hasi en los mugeres y la lengua es mui diferente de la de los pimas.*"

²³⁸ Lacking from the *Carta*.

²³⁹ Several words here omitted from the *Carta*.

²⁴⁰ Adair Bay. Lumholtz (*op. cit.*, 197) remarks that although the Jesuits were the first to open the trail from Sonóita to the Gila, "there is no evidence to show that they ever traversed the country to the south of it, at least west of Sonóita." My map shows, however, that Kino made four journeys into the Sierra del Pinacate (Santa Clara) region over the very trails followed two hundred and ten years later by Lumholtz.

²⁴¹ The *Carta* has it "ochenta."

²⁴² The *Carta* has it "Assis," manifestly a mistake.

gave the name of this most glorious patriarch and great patron, San Francisco Xavier,^{242a} inasmuch as in it on the fourth of October we kept his holy day, they gave us after the mass of the saint one hundred and two little ones to baptize.

In the afternoon we went two²⁴³ leagues farther, to another ranchería, which we named San Seraphin, and they gave us to baptize sixty-five other little ones. From there, passing by La Merced del Batqui and San Raphael del Actum, a journey of about thirty-two leagues to the west,²⁴⁴ we arrived at San Marzelo del Sonoidag, a post very suitable for a great settlement, because it has very good pastures and rich lands, with their irrigation ditches, and with water which runs to the port above mentioned, from which it is only twenty leagues by very level road. From San Marzelo I dispatched very friendly messages to the north. In this entry we gave more than forty staves of captains, governors, alcaldes, and fiscals.²⁴⁵ We came by way of La Consecpcion, passing at fifteen leagues southward from San Marzelo the ranchería of Bacapa, whither came the very Reverend Father Fray Marcos de Niza in his apostolic peregrination, and where he had reports, which he puts in his book, of the Seven Cities to the north and northeast.

After about forty leagues' journey we reached La

^{242a} Evidently a mistake for "Asis," as Oct. 4 is the feast of St. Francis of Asisi.

²⁴³ The *Relasion Diaria* gives this as three leagues.

²⁴⁴ Most of these place names are omitted from the *Carta*. The *Relasion Diaria* does not give the direction at this point.

²⁴⁵ Kino fails to mention a journey which he made at this time from Sonóita west. On October 8 they left Sonóita for the Gulf. On the way they passed San Sergio, and reached Santa Brigida, a village near the Gulf coast. On the ninth they climbed the near-by mountain of Santa Brigida or Santa Clara, and viewed the Gulf. On the tenth they returned to San Sergio and San Marcelo (*Relasion Diaria*).

Consepcion, and twenty-two leagues to the eastward we came to El Tubutama, in each of which places there are cattle, sheep and goats, wheat, maize, and a house of adobe for the fathers whom they hope to obtain. For this these natives as well as those of Tucubabia and those of San Luys supplicate and pray very fervently, tending the crops for that purpose. And I, for the ease of my conscience, commend them strongly to the fatherly protection of your Reverence, that you may be pleased to contribute to their receiving this full and only means of their eternal salvation. It has been an especial comfort to us that I have been able to say mass every day therefor, although many days we travelled twenty and twenty-two leagues, on account of the good pastures, good roads, good pack-animals, and superabundant provisions, all these natives guiding and accompanying us with all love, and, if the occasion demanded, coming to meet us with many jars of water many leagues' journey. Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, Oct. 20, 1698. Your Reverence's humble servant,

EUSEBIO FRANCISCO KINO.²⁴⁶

CHAPTER V. OPINIONS AND REPORTS RECEIVED IN REGARD TO THE ABOVE-MENTIONED HAPPY ENTRY

The entry which I have just related was the occasion of the greatest comfort to Father Visitor Oracio Palise and to the military commander;²⁴⁷ and they, like many

²⁴⁶ At the end of his *Relacion Diaria* Kino wrote a several page report entitled *Del estado, gracias al Señor, Pasifico y quieto de esta dilatada Pimeria y de la Prova. de Sonora, 1698 a.* It is an emphatic refutation of the charges that the Pimas are hostile and that the population of Pimeria Alta is small. By actual figures he shows that the population of the explored parts was more than sixteen thousand. He closes by saying that Pimeria Alta will be able to aid in converting California, "the largest island in the world."

²⁴⁷ In his report of March 8, 1699, to the viceroy, Jironza emphasized the importance of the victory of March 30, the great number of Indians en-

others, expressed their gratification thereat in long and very fine letters. Especially rejoiced at this entry were the fathers of California, who, on seeing this coast already so well subdued, determined with the other conquerors of California to ascend higher; and their reverences afterward wrote me the two letters given here. Father Juan Maria Salvatierra speaks thus:

*Quod felix faustum fortunatumque sit.*²⁴⁸ Much have I rejoiced and much has Father Francisco Maria Picolo rejoiced in the new, glorious entry from the Rio Grande; and we are desirous of knowing whether from that new coast which your Reverence traversed California may be seen, and what sign there is on that side whether this narrow sea is landlocked. We and all the people of this camp are pleased, and all salute your Reverence. I have just now received two letters from your Reverence, the first being dated October 21, shortly after you had returned from your apostolic journey in this direction. Over here, if we had not already entered and set foot on this land we know not what next.

But this now depends on nothing but following up the advantage gained, there being Christmas already. I tell your Reverence this that you may not be cast down with contradictions and rumors. As for the map, it will be made by Father Francisco Maria in August, after a voyage of discovery has been made in the boats as far as latitude thirty-five degrees or a little higher. I should greatly rejoice if your Reverence would come on this voyage of discovery, for thus you could disembark on the Rio Grande, by coming here after the harvest and the ingathering of the wheat. Your Reverence might embark at Hyaqui,²⁴⁹ and upon your arrival here we should all set sail, your Reverence, Sebastian Romero, and one of us, with twelve soldiers, and

countered in the last journey, and the desire of the Sobaipuris for missionaries. The fiscal, Tobar, on October 16 recommended that Kino be asked for more explicit reports regarding the need of missionaries (A.G.I. 67-3-28).

²⁴⁸ "May it be happy, joyful, and fortunate." This is a common formula, e.g. *Quod bonum, faustum, fortunatumque esset* (Cic. Div. I, 45, 102); *Ut nobis haec habitatio Bona, fausta, felix, fortunataque eveniat* (Plaut. Trin. 1, 2, 3).

²⁴⁹ Yaqui.

we should sail well up this coast, after going up to thirty-six degrees on the coasts of the Pimeria.

It has rained much here all this winter, and this whole land is as fragrant as a sweet-smelling garden; and if there had been lands prepared, much seed could have been sown, and all would have brought forth fruit; but one can not do everything. I thank your Reverence for your kindness to this your mission. I have been greatly pleased to learn of the placing of the image of Our Lady of Remedies in her pueblo so persecuted; and indeed I am moved to tenderness on reading of it. This Lady is to be the remedy for everything. With this I close, beseeching you not to forget me in your holy prayers and holy sacrifices. Loreto Concho, March 28, 1699. From your Reverence's servant in Christ.

JUAN MARIA SALVATIERRA.

Father Francisco Maria Picolo writes thus:

May His Divine Majesty preserve for me my well beloved Father Eusebio Francisco Kino many happy years, multiplied in the glorious progress of your work of conversion. With the greatest pleasure I have read of the entry which your Reverence made from the Rio Grande, skirting by land the coast of the strait of our California, and I give your Reverence a thousand congratulations. In the name of Jesus may you snatch from the devil all those souls, and in spite of all hell, *Ylluminareis qui in tenebris et in umbra mortis sedent*.²⁵⁰ By hearing of your heroic deeds I in my humility am encouraged to do something for the greater glory of the Lord, whom I pray to grant your Reverence many happy Easters. I hope on another and more favorable occasion to write your Reverence at greater length, reporting to you in detail the state of things here, which, because they are under the protection of our Lady²⁵¹ are prospering. Cheer me, your Reverence, with your most welcome news, for as soon as the ships arrive we shall try to go to the port which your Reverence discovered; and in the Holy Sacrifices do not forget this your useless servant and brother, Loreto Concho, March 27, 1699. Your Reverence's humble servant and brother.

FRANCISCO MARIA PICOLO.

²⁵⁰ "To enlighten them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death" (Luke, i, 79. *Illuminare his qui in tenebris et in umbra mortis sedent*). Kino doubtless quotes from memory here.

²⁵¹ Our Lady of Loreto.

Thus far the fathers of California. But the accustomed contradiction and opposition, delayer and hinderer of the coming of the fathers, were not lacking. Although from their beginnings the reports to Mexico and Parral had been favorable, now those ill-disposed sent other and very contrary reports, which made it impossible to send the fathers necessary, according to the accounts which from Mexico have been written to me of the opposition and these false and very hostile stories. They were to the effect that the Cocomaricopas and other new nations of the Rio Grande, to the westward of La Encarnacion and San Andres, and of the Rio Colorado to the northwest, whither we did not penetrate, were so barbarous and such cannibals that they roasted and ate people, and they added other unheard of chimeras.

But our Lord willed that in another entry, even greater than that related—the next chapter tells of it—a few months afterward, we found, passing through all those rancherías, everything quite the contrary, and the greatest affability and friendship on the part of all those natives, without the least trace, sign, or indication of such or so falsely pretended roastings of people. And our happiness in the face of such false reports was that we had left in San Andres, as in San Marzelo, very good messages or talks for all the new nations farther on, asking them to advise me whether they wished me to come to see them, and saying that all would be for their good. And as a few weeks afterward there came to me from all parts most friendly replies and invitations and prayers that I should go to see them, and speak to them of their eternal salvation, having communicated these things to the father visitor, I determined to make another entry or mission, and to penetrate much farther than hitherto.

CHAPTER VI. ANOTHER GREAT ENTRY, IN WHICH ARE DISCOVERED MORE THAN EIGHTY LEAGUES OF LANDS AND NEW PEOPLES; FROM THE RIO GRANDE THE RIO AZUL IS SIGHTED; DETAILED INFORMATION IS SECURED IN REGARD TO THE VERY POPULOUS AND VERY LARGE RIO COLORADO NEAR-BY; AND THE NEW YUMA NATION IS REDUCED ²⁵²

FEBRUARY 7, 1699. In order to effect a clear refutation and dispersion of the calumny which had been raised against those new nations of the Rio Grande, etc., and having gone to the Real de San Juan to secure from the alcalde mayor a lieutenant who could give an authenticated report of everything, ²⁵³ on February 7 we began this entry, the Señor Lieutenant Juan Matheo Manje, Father Adamo Gilg, and I, with some servants and more than ninety pack animals. ²⁵⁴ We entered by the northwest to San Marzelo del Sonoidag, ²⁵⁵ where a

²⁵² A full diary account of this expedition is given by Manje in *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, cap. 6, entitled *Relacion diaria q hice con los R. Padres Eusebio Franco. Kino y Adamo Gilg Jesuitas pr. el norueste a descubrir los Caudalos[os] Rios Colorado, y Jila, y Naciones Pimas, Yumas y Cocomarcopas en q sitan sus Pueblos, desde 7 de febrero asta catorce de Marzo de 1699 de 380 leguas de yda y buelta, Campaña de los Soldados*, pp. 66-84. Brief accounts are in Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, vol. i, 269-271; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 357. Ortega, *Apostólicos Afanes*, 282-285; Alegre, *Historia de la Compañia de Jesus*, vol. iii, 117-118. In his report of March 8, 1699, to the viceroy, Jironza states that Manje went in February to the Colorado where the quicksilver mines had been reported (A.G.I. 67-3-28).

²⁵³ According to Manje the missionaries asked General Jironza, commander of the Compañia Volante of Sonora, and Captain Ruiz de Avechuco, alcalde mayor of Sonora, for the services of Manje. Manje left the Real de San Juan Bautista, "capital" of the province, on January 6, 1699, with title of *teniente de alcalde mayor y capitán á guerra*. Traveling the forty leagues intervening, he arrived at Dolores on January 9. The departure thence was delayed by rains (*Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 67).

²⁵⁴ Manje (*ibid.*, 67) says "eight loads of provisions, eighty horses, and vestments for saying mass."

²⁵⁵ Manje gives the details. On the seventh they crossed the Sierra del Comedio, ten leagues, to San Ygnacio Caborica, where Campos was stationed; on the eighth, three leagues to Santa Magdalena de Buquivaba, thence

new ranch was begun, with thirty-six head of cattle which I ordered sent ahead for the fathers of California, if perchance they should go up to the near-by port of Santa Clara.²⁵⁶ Passing very near it, we entered upon the more than forty leagues of coast and new road between there and the mouth of the Rio Grande²⁵⁷ and its confluence with the Rio Colorado. By the natives whom we found along this road we were received with all love. We spent the twenty-second of February, the day of the Chair of St. Peter in Antioch, on the Rio Grande, whither more than fifty natives, Pimas, Yumas, Opas, and Cocomaricopas, had gathered; and we named the post and ranchería San Pedro, as another ranchería lower down was named San Pablo.²⁵⁸

And because eighty leagues farther to the east, on this past Tupo to the Laguna del Tupo, nine leagues for the day. Here they found flax (*lino*) growing. On the ninth, twelve leagues to San Pedro del Tubutama. Since the revolt the Indians here had not had a pastor but Campos visited them annually. On the tenth, seventeen leagues to Saric, then past Busanic, and three leagues more to Tucubavia. Here and in the vicinity of Tubutama there were two thousand Indians suitable for a good mission. On the eleventh, ten leagues west to El Guvo Verde, so called because of a tank of rain water used by the Indians. On the twelfth, five leagues west to the clear spring of Santa Eolalia, with a village near by. Here they were shown a great cave, formerly inhabited by a giant, which Manje describes with great vividness. Four leagues more to a small tank. On the thirteenth, five leagues to a flowing stream near a high, square Peñasco, visible for eighteen leagues like a castle. They called it Noah's Ark. Five more leagues to an arroyo. Sonóita was reached on the sixteenth.

²⁵⁶ The chief here was made governor, and he and others went with the party as guides. Setting out on the seventeenth, they passed Carrizal, then twenty leagues to Aguaje de la Luna; twelve leagues to another good *aguaje*; fifteen leagues to Las Tinajas; six leagues to the Rio Grande, reached on the twenty-first (Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 71 *et seq.*

²⁵⁷ The Gila River.

²⁵⁸ Manje gives a long description of the Indians at this point (*Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 72 *et seq.*). The Opas and Cocomaricopas are identical with the Maricopas, who still live with and below the Pimas, on the Gila River. They call themselves Pipasje, but are called Maricopa by the Pimas. In the nineteenth century they moved up the Gila on account of wars with their kindred, the Yumas. See Hodge, *Handbook*, part i, 805-806.

same river, close to La Encarnacion and Casa Grande, there was the ranchería of San Andres, afterwards, at the suggestion of Father Adamo, giving other rancherías the names of the other holy apostles, this Rio Grande we named Rio de los Santos Apostoles. To this it may be added that all its inhabitants are fishermen, and have many nets and other tackle with which they fish all the year, sustaining themselves with the abundant fish and with their maize, beans, and calabashes, etc. These people so new, of very different dress, customs, and languages, all received us with the utmost friendship, affection, and pleasure on their part and ours, their chiefs coming out to meet us more than a league's journey, giving us afterward of their eatables, etc. We preached to them the word of God in the Pima language, and, with an interpreter, in the language of the Cocomaricopas, which is that spoken by the Opas and the Yumas. It was well received, and they would have given us many little ones to baptize, but we accepted and baptized only a few sick persons. We informed ourselves in regard to the rancherías and people farther to the north, northeast, and northwest, and of the very populous Rio Colorado near-by, which is even larger than the Rio Grande, and they told us that the Yumas, Cutganes, and Alchedomas²⁵⁹ came next in order. We dispatched Christian messages and talks in all directions and occasionally some little gifts and gewgaws; and already here in Nuestra Señora de los Dolores I have received very friendly replies, in which they call me to go to treat of their eternal salvation.

These natives of San Pedro in the two days when we were with them gave us various presents of the unusual sorts which they have there. Among them were some

²⁵⁹ A branch of the Yumas.

curious and beautiful blue shells, which, so far as I know, are found only on the opposite or western coast of California. Afterward it occurred to me that not very far distant there must be a passage by land to near-by California; and shortly, by Divine grace, we shall try to find it out and see it with all exactness.²⁶⁰ Father Adam made while here a vocabulary of the Cocomaricopa language. On taking our leave, February 23, we left messages for them and for those of the sea, to the effect that if the ships or fathers of California should arrive at those their coasts they should receive them with all love and without fear, for they were our brothers and men of very good heart.

Leaving the natives very desirous that we should return, we took our course eastward up the Rio Grande,²⁶¹ passing by various rancherías,²⁶² which we gave the names of the other holy Apostles, San Matias del Tumagoidad (because on this holy day we arrived there), San Mateo, San Simon, San Felipe y Santiago, San

²⁶⁰ Manje states that he was anxious to go to the Gulf of California, that he had come expressly for this purpose, but that the Indians begged them not to do so, and that the missionaries were afraid that such a step would offend the Cocomaricopas. Manje and the Indian interpreter, Francisco Pintor, rode to a hill and were shown the junction of the Gila and Colorado. The camp was evidently near Dome and above Blaisdell. At this point Manje records that the natives told here of the visit of a white woman whom he thought might be Mother María de Jesus de Ágreda, said to have visited the Indians of New Mexico and Texas, in spirit, earlier in the century. The Indians told of the visit of Oñate over ninety years before.

²⁶¹ They started on the twenty-third.

²⁶² According to Manje, none were seen for thirty leagues. San Matías Tutum was reached at that distance, San Mateo de Cuat at thirty-four leagues. Then followed San Tadeo de Vaqui, San Simón Tucsaní, and two unnamed villages (San Felipe and Santiago?). On March 1 the Gila Bend was reached, and the river was left here. Twenty-four leagues east and three from the junction with the Rio Verde they reached a Pima village called San Bartolomé; ten more leagues took them to San Andrés de Coata, visited in 1697. After passing La Encarnación, they left the river (on the fifth) and the Casa Grande. Passing the Algive (tank) made by the ancients, they went *via* San Xavier del Bac to Dolores.

Bartolome, etc. After eighty leagues' journey along the Rio Grande we arrived at San Andres, La Encarnacion, and Casa Grande, having received in all parts all kindness and many of their provisions, with almost the same courtesy as if we had journeyed among Christians. In some places they gave us so much and so very good fish that we gave it as a ration to the men, just as beef is given where it is plentiful. Likewise, they guided us and accompanied us, and came many days' journey to meet us, with the utmost friendship, loyalty, and courtesy; and although those of the west had always lived at great enmity and in very bloody wars with those of the east, toward us all were very friendly and most loving; and God willed also that we should with felicity establish peace between them, so that they ceased those conflicts, since I said to them that God our Lord, the best beloved Creator of heaven and earth and of men did not wish that peoples should persecute and kill each other so cruelly in that way; that only the devil, the common enemy of the human race, tried and sought to have men kill one another, in order that both the slain and the slayers should go to hell and to the eternal, never ending fire. They made some very friendly peace-agreements and general alliances, and they still endure, all because they wish to be peaceful Christians, and without wars, except those which might be necessary against the enemies of the faith; for in such cases even though one should die fighting to the last extremity he is saved, and such blood can even serve as baptism to one who might not be baptized with water.

This side of San Felipe y Santiago del Oyadoibuisse we saw the Rio Azul,²⁶³ with its pleasant cottonwood groves, which comes from near the Moquis. At San

²⁶³ Manje mentions Río Verde but not Río Azul.

Andres I found the letter and the cross which many months before I had despatched to the Moquis, inviting them to our friendship and their reduction, and urging that they reconcile themselves with our Holy Mother Church, returning to our holy faith. Even some years before I had urged the same thing; but then as now we found the obstacle of the very difficult passage through the Apaches. Therefore, with new messages and new gifts, and with promises to the bearers that they should be escorted by armed men wherever there was fear of any danger from the Apaches, I again despatched the letter and the cross to the Moquis and to their principal justices, for some knew how to read and write. And, as I shall later set forth, in part the purpose was accomplished.

Thanks to the infinite goodness of the Lord, so completely did we effect the desired proof that the natives of the Rio Grande, or Rio de los Apostoles, and their environs, did not roast and eat people, that the Señor Lieutenant Juan Matheo Manje, in his careful and well written relation that he wrote of this entry, said that, because there was so much affability, love, and affection on the part of these new peoples, he was of the opinion that years before the venerable Mother Maria de Jesus de Agreda had come to domesticate and instruct them, as there is a tradition that she came from Spain miraculously to instruct some other nations, of New Mexico, for the Reverend Fathers of San Francisco found them already somewhat instructed. Others have been of the opinion that the blessed blood of the venerable father Francisco Xavier Saeta is fertilizing and ripening these very extensive fields. Passing by San Francisco Xavier del Bac, and by San Cayetano, we arrived, thanks to the Lord, after a prosperous return trip, at

Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, on the fourteenth of March, having traveled in going and coming about three hundred and sixty leagues.²⁶⁴

In this entry we learned that on the third of March the Sobaipuris of Captain Humaric had dealt a blow to the Apaches of the Rio de Hila, killing thirty-six²⁶⁵ of them and taking captive eight little children, of whom they brought me five to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, where they were baptized. A little afterward came also the very friendly replies to the messages which in the above-mentioned entry we had sent to the numerous people of the Rio Colorado.²⁶⁶

²⁶⁴ San Xavier del Bac was reached March 7, and left on the ninth. That night in a storm Father Kino was taken ill, his limbs swelling badly. Next day, in spite of continued storm, he insisted on traveling, but after going three leagues he was taken ill with vomiting and again they stopped. On the eleventh he was better, and they continued to Tumacácori. Bacoancos was reached on the twelfth, Cocóspera on the thirteenth, and Dolores on the fourteenth.

²⁶⁵ Manje says that six Apaches were killed.

²⁶⁶ Manje says, at the end of his account of the journey, that it will be well now to investigate whether the rumored quicksilver mines are the gold and silvers mines of the Sierra Azul, what white people are settled on the Gulf of California, whether Spaniards or strangers, and what white woman it was who had visited the Indians; to explore the "island" of California; and to ascertain the origin of the Aztecs.

BOOK VII. VISITATION BY THE FATHER
VISITOR ANTONIO LEAL, AND NEW
JOURNEYS OF HIS REVERENCE TO
THE PIMERIA, TO THE NORTH,
NORTHWEST, AND WEST

CHAPTER I. FIRST PATERNAL LETTERS OF FATHER
VISITOR ANTONIO LEAL WITH A VIEW TO
ENCOURAGE THESE NEW CONVER-
SIONS OF THIS PIMERIA

MAY AND JUNE, 1699. In May and June of 1699 the father visitor, Antonio Leal, who had just ceased to be visitor of the missions of Cinaloa, came to us at these missions of Sonora. When we were expecting missionary fathers from Mexico for this Pimeria, it was written to us that they could not come because the reports from this Pimeria had been very unfavorable and not at all uniform. Nevertheless, especially because the father visitor informed himself by word of mouth of his predecessor, God willed that things should become cleared up, and that their complete remedy should be discussed. His Reverence wrote me letters so paternal, and so tender, so zealous, and so highly charitable toward these poor children that they inspired and encouraged me to write this little book. Especially of most singular comfort to us was the letter which I received at vespers of the eve of San Ygnacio²⁶⁷ in the Pueblo of Our Father San Ygnacio as I was returning from a little journey to Tucubabia, Tubutama, and

²⁶⁷ The Feast of San Ignacio falls on July 31.

La Consecpcion. I read it at the altar of our Father San Ygnacio (which is in the hall, because there is no church as yet), for in it was the lighted candle, and as I received the letter in question after nightfall. When, afterwards, I gave those affectionate messages to the natives, they were most delighted, very much pleased, and very desirous of seeing his Reverence.

SEPTEMBER 22, 1699. On September 22 his Reverence writes me the following:

I took great comfort in the desires and the constancy of those children; and since they repeat their petitions, may God grant them and satisfy their wish to see me, which I share in equal or perhaps a greater degree. And I beg your Reverence that if any really believe, you will do me the favor to salute them in my name and commend me to them.

And as from beyond the Yumas to the northwest and to the north, from the Rio Colorado, various new nations and rancherías, as a result of the messages which I sent them in the preceding entries, called me with very friendly and tender insistence to treat of their conversion, when I asked of his Reverence permission to go upon that expedition, he answered me that with much pleasure he would go personally with me on the said journey, because of the great desire which he had always had for the welfare of so many poor creatures. And when afterward I asked his Reverence to please advise me as to what I could provide for the entry in question, he wrote me these words:

But of me or for me take no thought, your Reverence, nor may you take thought, because I can eat a piece of jerked beef, and it tastes very good to me and suffices me. What I really desire is that the journey may be accomplished, whereby the desire of those poor people may be fulfilled, and so I trust in our Lord, etc.

CHAPTER II. FIRST NEWS OF THE REDUCTION OF THE APACHES NEAREST THE RIO COLORADO

AUGUST 6 AND 7, 1699. On the sixth and seventh of August of the year 1699, the captain of San Cayetano and the governor and twelve or thirteen other justices²⁶⁸ of the interior came to this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, saying to me that Captain Humaric and the other Sobaipuris, of La Encarnacion and of San Andres, were sending to advise me that through the cross, letter, gifts, and messages which at the beginning of March I had despatched from San Andres to the Moquis, the Apaches nearest the Rio Colorado were won over to our friendship, for the messages, letter, and cross which I sent, the Apaches had received and applied to themselves, making peace with the rest, our friends; and that the Opas, Cocomaricopas, and Pimas, were sending to call me to speak and treat of their conversion, and were sending me four buckskins as a present.

I imparted this good news to the father visitor, to the Señor military commander, and to others. The father visitor on the twenty-ninth of August answered me as follows:

Great comfort have I received from your Reverence's letter of the seventeenth instant, because of the pleasing news of the Apaches, which is the best which this province could have; and the people of New Mexico must receive it with general bell-ringing. Already it appears that the prophecy of Fray Juan de Jesus is being fulfilled, to the effect that the Apaches were going to be reduced and embrace our holy faith in very truth and were going to form a choice Christendom.

And afterward his Reverence ends the letter with these very paternal words:

I trust in God that our journey will be for His holy service, for I desire in the extreme to see those poor children, to whom I

²⁶⁸ *I.e.* Indian officials.

beseech your Reverence to commend me, and I commend them to our Lord, who, I trust, will take away all the obstacles in the way of their healing.

Thus far the father visitor, Antonio Leal. In regard to the Apaches, almost the same was written by the father rector of Matape and others; and although the common enemy did not fail to oppose this also, since some would have it that these reports were far from the truth, on the first of October Captain Humaric and others from the Rio Grande came and confirmed them, as did time also, thanks to the infinite goodness of our eternal God and to the celestial favors of his most holy Mother and of the most glorious apostle of the Indies, San Francisco Xavier.

CHAPTER III. JOURNEY OR MISSION OF THE FATHER VISITOR ANTONIO LEAL THROUGH THE PIMERIA TO THE SOBAIPURIS OF THE NORTH, AND TO THE NORTHWEST AND THE WEST COAST TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY LEAGUES IN GOING AND RETURN, FROM OCTOBER 24 TO NOVEMBER 28, 1699. IN THE COURSE OF IT TWENTY-THREE BAPTISMS ARE PERFORMED AND ABOUT SEVEN THOUSAND SOULS ARE SEEN AND COUNTED ²⁶⁹

Father Visitor Anttonio Leal, with Father Francisco Gonzalbo,²⁷⁰ having arrived from the pueblo of Cucurpe at this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores on the twenty-first of October,²⁷¹ on the twenty-fourth, day of the most glorious archangel San Miguel Raphael,

²⁶⁹ A full account of this expedition is given by Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, cap. 7. This account by Kino, which is practically a diary, is the only other first-hand record available. It supplements Manje in many particulars. See volume ii, 184 for further information regarding Manje's diary.

²⁷⁰ Manje gives his name as Golzalvo, from San Joseph and La Merced, in Pimeria Baja (*Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 87, 90). See "Index" for other references to Father Gonzalvo.

²⁷¹ Manje joined them at Dolores next day.

we set out for Nuestra Señora de los Remedios. Fifty²⁷² pack animals went from this district, sixty-six others, for the most part mules, having been despatched a month before to San Xavier del Bac.

October 25. The following day, the twenty-fifth, having said mass, we three fathers set out for Cocospora, where at midday Father Agustin de Campos overtook us. In the afternoon we passed on four leagues farther toward San Lazaro; and at eight o'clock at night the Señor lieutenant of this Pimeria, Juan Matheo Manje, overtook us,²⁷³ being sent by the Señor military commander of this province of Sonora, Don Domingo Jironsa Petris de Crusat, to accompany us in this entry with two soldiers, Antonio Ortis Cortes and Diego Rodrigues.

26. On the twenty-sixth, after nine leagues' journey, we arrived at San Luys del Bacoancos, the Indians of Santa Maria having come to see the father visitor in San Lazaro. In San Luys, where we counted forty houses, as also in the following posts or rancherías of Guebabi and San Cayetano, they received us with all kindness, with crosses and arches erected in the roads, with earth-roofed adobe houses, which they have prepared for the father whom they hope to receive; as also for the said father they have and care for a ranch with seven head of cattle, with two small droves of mares and eleven this year's colts, and with two hundred head of sheep and goats; also crops of wheat, maize, and beans. We killed one fat beef and two sheep for food.

27. On the twenty-seventh at noon we arrived at Guebavi where we counted ninety souls. There are many more in the ranchería of Los Reyes to the east-

²⁷² Manje says 60.

²⁷³ Manje makes it appear that he set out from Dolores with Kino. The latter must be right in this detail.

ward, about four leagues away. In the afternoon we passed on to San Cayetano. We slept in the earth-roofed adobe house, in which I said mass the day following.

28. On the twenty-eighth the governor of San Cayetano gave his little son to the father visitor to baptize, as also the governor of San Luys had given him his. Three other little ones they gave us, Father Gonzalvo and me, to baptize. In the afternoon we set out, to spend the night at a watering place of the river of this valley, six leagues distant.

29. On the twenty-ninth, after ten leagues' journey, we arrived, two hours past noon, at the great ranchería of San Xavier del Bac of the Sobaipuris. More than forty boys came forth to receive us with their crosses in their hands, and there were more than three hundred Indians drawn up in line, just as in the pueblos of the ancient Christians. Afterward we counted more than a thousand souls. There were an earth-roofed adobe house, cattle, sheep and goats, wheat and maize, and the sixty-six relay pack animals. We killed three beeves and two sheep. The fields and lands for sowing were so extensive and supplied with so many irrigation ditches running along the ground that the father visitor said they were sufficient for another city like Mexico.

30. On the thirtieth the governor of El Ootcam,²⁷⁴ to the west, named Tocodoy Onigam,²⁷⁵ came to see us, with ten other Indians. And being questioned, he told us by means of kernels of maize that he had in his ranchería two hundred and sixty-six souls.²⁷⁶ In the years preceding he had given me to baptize his little

²⁷⁴ Manje says he came on the twenty-ninth.

²⁷⁵ This may be the same as Anegam, the name of a village west of Bac.

²⁷⁶ Manje says 270.

daughter, who was named Maria. This day Father Gonzalvo baptized a little girl.

Nov. 1. On the first of November, after the three masses said by the three fathers, we passed on to San Agustin del Oyaut,²⁷⁷ four²⁷⁸ leagues' journey; and leaving on the left the ranchería of San Cosme del Tucson, we passed by its splendid fields, similar to those of San Xavier del Bac. The natives received us with all kindness, and gave me four sick persons to baptize. We counted two hundred men, who represent two hundred families. The plan had been that we should go on to the Rio Grande, the Rio Azul, and the Rio Colorado, to the Opas and the Cocomaricopas, etc., but, as two servants of the father visitor fell sick, and as the soldiers of Captain Christoval Martin Bernal, for whom his Reverence was waiting, did not come, a rest of two days was taken here.²⁷⁹

2. Meantime, on the second of November, the Señor lieutenant and Antonio Ortis Cortes and I went on to Santa Catarina del Cuytoabagum,²⁸⁰ a journey of fifteen leagues. We found three hundred men, who represent three hundred families, and more than one thousand persons, who received us with all kindness, giving us many kinds of their food. From here we despatched friendly messages to the nations of the Rio Grande, to the Cocomaricopas, and to the Yumas of the Rio Colorado, saying that we did not pass on to see them because two servants of the father visitor had fallen sick.²⁸¹

3. On the third we returned to San Agustin, and almost at midnight the father visitor and I received let-

²⁷⁷ Oiaur (Manje).

²⁷⁸ Six leagues' journey (Manje).

²⁷⁹ This reason for not going to the Rio Grande is not given by Manje.

²⁸⁰ Caytuabaga (Manje).

²⁸¹ Manje says they went to San Clemente also.

ters from Captain Christoval Martin, notifying us that he was going inland to the east with the Pimas of Captain Coro in pursuit of the hostile Jocomes. He asked of me, and I gave him for this purpose, ten head of cattle at San Luys.²⁸²

CHAPTER IV. RETURN OF THE FATHER VISITOR ANTONIO LEAL FROM THE INTERIOR BY THE NORTHWESTERN AND THE WESTERN COASTS

NOVEMBER 4. On the fourth we returned from San Agustin to San Xavier del Bac, where they gave us four sick little ones to baptize. Having despatched from San Xavier del Bac directly to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores the two sick servants of the father visitor, we, traveling westward on the fifth, sixth, and seventh, after twenty-eight leagues' journey, and having passed by various rancherías, all of very friendly and very docile people, arrived at the ranchería of San Seraphin del Actum.²⁸³ There came out to welcome us more than twenty justices who had assembled, and about twenty boys, who received us on their knees, with crosses in their hands, that they might give them to the father visitor; and afterward we were welcomed by more than four hundred men and many women drawn up in a very long line with their little ones already baptized, two years before. They comprised about twelve hundred souls. In the afternoon we passed on to San

²⁸² Several details here are omitted by Manje. He does not say that the writer was met at San Agustín.

²⁸³ The details for these days are given by Manje. The Indians asked for Father Golzalvo (Gonzalvo) as missionary, and Father Leal promised them that he should be sent to them. Leal expressed the opinion that the valley would support a city of thirty thousand inhabitants. (It has one with over three-fourths that population now.) On the fifth they went west ten leagues; on the sixth, six leagues to El Tups [Tupo], then three to El Cupo or El Humo. On the seventh, eight leagues to San Seraphín del Actum.

Francisco del Adid,²⁸⁴ where we were received by two hundred men and about eight hundred souls, among them being many of the one hundred and two little ones whom they had given me here to baptize on the morning of the day of San Francisco, the fourth of October, two years before. All were much pleased to hear the word of God; and at night there was formed a circle of twenty-five governors, among them being the principal one of the four Cocomaricopas who had come to see us, who, with the governor of Nuestra Señor de los Dolores, spoke with fervor of their eternal salvation, and the father visitor heard that new language for the first time. And these Cocomaricopas with very rare courtesy and loyalty brought me a very fat, pretty horse, which we had left behind lost the year before.

On the eighth, having left friendly messages and some little gifts for the people of the north, the Apachería, the Moquis, etc., we set out from San Francisco, and, turning somewhat to the south, after twelve leagues' journey we arrived at Nuestra Señora de la Merced del Batqui, where we found more than eight hundred souls, who had assembled to receive us with the same kindness as those preceding. Because another servant, one of Father Gonzalvo's, fell ill, his Reverence and the father visitor were detained²⁸⁵ here. Consequently the Señor lieutenant and I went on to San Raphael of the other Actum,²⁸⁶ and to San Marzelo del Sonoydag, a journey of twenty leagues, to inform ourselves better in regard to the land passage to California, to see if there were any sick, and to bring a beef from that ranch, which has fifty head of cattle, and is only twenty

²⁸⁴ Manje calls this San Francisco de Ati.

²⁸⁵ Father Leal went by carriage to Tubutama.

²⁸⁶ Lumholtz (*New Trails in Mexico*, chap. vi) gives an account of most interesting experiences in 1909 in some of the very villages here mentioned by Father Kino two hundred and ten years earlier.

leagues from the good harbor of Santa Clara, on the Sea of California. And we made very careful inquiry in regard to the blue shells of the opposite coast, and to the passage by land to California.²⁸⁷ In the rancherías along this route we saw and counted more than one thousand souls. I baptized three sick persons, among them a Cocomaricopa, who gave the new information regarding the Cuculatos,²⁸⁸ a people of a distinct language, who live beyond the Rio Colorado. We brought beef, and, as the fathers had set out from La Mersed, we overtook them in San Ambrosio del Busanic, where we killed two other beeves and two sheep of the large and small stock, which, with wheat, maize, and beans, and an earth-roofed adobe house, these more than three hundred natives tend for the father whom they hope to receive. On the way they brought me four little ones and a sick adult to baptize.²⁸⁹

On the fourteenth we arrived at El Tubutama, a ten leagues' journey. We found three hundred and thirty-two souls and noted that at the stroke of the bell by their *temastían* the boys and girls under instruction come to say prayers morning and evening, as in Sonora. We found cattle and small stock, about one hundred head of the two kinds, wheat, maize, and beans, a house, and a little earth-roofed adobe church for the father whom they hope to receive; and there is almost the

²⁸⁷ Manje says nothing of this phase of the matter.

²⁸⁸ Mentioned in Venegas, *Noticia de California*, vol. i, 58 (1759), and as Cuculates by Taylor in Browne, *Res. Pac. Slope*, app. 54, 1869.

²⁸⁹ The details of the journey are given by Manje. On the eighth they went thirteen leagues to San Rafael; on the ninth, nine to Baguiburisac, and sixteen to El Coat y Sibagoyda (San Bonifacio. See the journey of 1698); on the tenth, travelling all night, thirty-three leagues to Sonóita; on the eleventh, travelling day and night, fifty leagues to Busanic; on the thirteenth to Tubutama. Manje is one day ahead of Kino from here on to San Ignacio, where Manje says they remained two days.

same outfit twenty-two leagues farther on at La Concepcion de Nuestra Señora del Caborca.

On the fifteenth, we arrived at Santa Maria Magdalena; on the sixteenth at San Ygnacio, where Father Agustin de Campos welcomed us; on the seventeenth at Nuestra Señora de los Remedios; and on the eighteenth at Nuestra Señora de los Dolores.

CHAPTER V. EXPEDITION OF CAPTAIN CORO'S PIMAS SOBAIPURIS AGAINST THE ENEMIES OF THIS PROVINCE, IN COMPANY WITH THE GARRISON; AND THE GOOD FORTUNE WHICH THEY HAD

At the same time that we made the above mentioned expedition somewhat further to the west, Captain Christoval Martin Bernal, who had asked of me and whom I had given ten beeves from the new ranch of San Luys, made an expedition to the Sobaipuris of the east and of the Rio de Quiburi, with the soldiers of the presidio; and with the same Sobaipuris of Captain Coro he made an expedition to the enemies of this province of Sonora who live even farther to the east; and on his return to his presidio of Coro de Guachi, on the twenty-eighth of November, 1699, he wrote me the following letter:

For what I owe and the obligation which I am under to your Reverence I write these lines, informing you how our Lord was pleased to allow me to make an attack upon a little ranchería of enemies, and how in it our loving excellent Pimas showed great fidelity in their friendship to us; for three of the enemy's braves and three women were killed, and we took twelve prisoners; wherefore, I give infinite thanks to the divine Majesty for our good fortune, and to your Reverence, since by means of your most Christian heart and great zeal so many souls are gained for heaven, and so many rebels against our holy faith are punished. May our Lord keep them in peace, that we all may have the rest

which we desire, and grant your Reverence the health which my affectionate love desires for you, at whose feet I offer mine. I received the ten beeves which I asked of your Reverence.

Thus far Captain Christoval Martin Bernal. The Señor military commander, on the sixth of December, concerning this particular wrote me the following:

I thank your Reverence for the news of the victory of my arms and of my dear Pimas Sobaipuris; for we can all give one another hearty congratulations for the good fortune and for the defeat which they inflicted upon the enemy. (And afterward his Lordship adds:) I beg that your Reverence will give thanks to Captain Coro and to the other natives on my behalf and on behalf of my soldiers, for Captain Christoval Martin tells me they did well.²⁹⁰

²⁹⁰ At this point Manje records an expedition made in 1700 which Kino omits here but alludes to later on. In December, 1699, Father Melchor Bartíromo requested General Jironza to send a squadron of soldiers to restrain the Seris, who were molesting Tuape, Cucurpe, and Magdalena, which he administered. Alférez J. B. de Escalante accordingly set out in January, 1700, with fifteen soldiers, going to the ranchería of Santa Magdalena de Tepocas, then to Nuestra Señora del Pópulo, where Father Gilg was stationed. Accompanied by Gilg, he then pursued the Seris to the Gulf, but they escaped to the islands. He now returned to Tuape and Santa Magdalena, then went to the Gulf by a different route and gathered one hundred and twenty Tepocas, whom he turned over to Father Bartíromo. Late in March Escalante returned to the coast, pursued the Seris to the islands, and took some of them to Father Bartíromo, returning to Cucurpe in April. Being called to San Ignacio by Father Campos, he made a foray northward in which he captured one hundred and twelve delinquent Indians whom he delivered to Father Campos. He then went south through Pimería Baja to Belén and Yaqui, recovering apostates. At the end of six months and after a journey of two hundred leagues, he returned to his presidio. These activities of Escalante are a good illustration of the coöperation usual between the soldiers and the missionaries in controlling the frontier Indians. Kino alludes to Escalante's expedition on page 234, *post*, and on pages 238-239, *post*, quotes a letter from Escalante giving added light on it.

BOOK VIII. OF THE GREAT FRUIT, SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL, WHICH AT SMALL COST TO HIS ROYAL MAJESTY (GOD PRESERVE HIM) CAN BE GARNERED AMONG THE SURROUNDING NATIONS OF ALL THIS NORTH AMERICA

CHAPTER I. OF THIS NORTH AMERICA, IN GENERAL ALMOST UNKNOWN

Among the above-mentioned favors which our Lord has granted us in these expeditions, or missions, conversions, discoveries, reductions, conquests, spiritual and temporal, and baptisms, it can be inferred that one is the great, good, and abundant fruit which, in the service of the two Majesties, can be secured, not only in the discovered parts, but also in all this very extensive northern district of all this North America, which is the greatest and best remaining portion of the world, because the discovery and conquest have just been effected, both on this mainland and on the very extensive, great and populous California near-by, that in all parts the very many souls may be saved and redeemed by the most precious blood of our Redeemer Jesus, and all at small cost to the royal treasury. For most of these lands are very rich and fertile, most of the Indians industrious, many of the lands mineral bearing, and most of them of a climate so good that it is very similar to the best of Europe, to that of Castilla, to that of Andalusia, to that of Italy, to that of France, to that of Germany; because most of this North America is in the

same degrees of altitude of the north pole or geographical latitude as Europe itself, that is, in 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50 degrees and upward; also because this North America is so extensive that it exceeds all kingdoms and empires and provinces of all Europe; and little by little, with good management, and if some conquests already made lend a hand to those which may be in progress, as the royal *cédulas* suggest, through these spiritual and temporal conquests to the west and to the northwest it will be possible to cross to the opposite coast of the Sea of California and to its cape of Mendosino, and to the harbor of Monte Rey; and there will be possible a port of call for the ship of China or the Philippine galleon, and at the same time some commerce for these provinces of Sonora, Nueva Biscaya, and Nueva Galizia, etc. And to the north and northeast it will be possible to penetrate to Gran Quibira and to Gran Teguayo, etc., and to the Strait of Anian;²⁹¹ and perhaps also in that direction it will be possible to open a way and shorter water route to Spain.

CHAPTER II. OF THE NEIGHBORING GREAT CALIFORNIA

In the very extensive neighboring California, which is about six hundred leagues long from southeast to northwest, and about one hundred leagues wide from east to west, I lived almost two years continuously, at

²⁹¹ All through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there was widespread belief in the existence of a northern passage, called the Strait of Anian, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, and all the leading nations made efforts to find it. This was one of the permanent aims of Spanish exploration on the western coast of America. See Bancroft, *History of the Northwest Coast*, for an excellent chapter on "The Northern Mystery and Imaginary Geography, 1500-1595."

the time of the enterprise and conquest by the admiral Don Ysidro de Atondo y Antillon,²⁹² in the years 83, 84, and 85, having with me Father Pedro Matias Goñi and Father Juan Baptista Copart, and holding the office of rector of the mission, although unworthy; and with the commission of cosmographer of his Majesty (God guard him), I made a map, which was printed. And in latitude twenty-six degrees we crossed to the opposite coast from the Real de San Bruno, with more than eighty horses, a journey of about sixty leagues, finding in all parts many people, friendly, docile and affable. This was all at the very great and Catholic expense of the royal treasury, which, with the construction of the three ships, *Capitana*, *Almiranta*, and *Patache*, and with the seamen and soldiers, provisions, munitions, etc., exceeded half a million.²⁹³

In the Real de San Bruno, in San Ysidro and San Dionisio, and in their vicinity, we left the people, more than four thousand souls, very submissive, very docile, very friendly, somewhat instructed in the principal mysteries of our holy faith, and with great desire to receive holy baptism, although, because of lack of authority we baptized only thirteen sick or dying, of whom three recovered, inasmuch as in the month of May this enterprise was abandoned or suspended, for reasons which our Lord knoweth, and because afterward from Matanchel we set out in the South Sea in November, 1685, by order of his Excellency, with two of the ships of California to meet and warn and rescue the China galleon from the hostile pirates, for the

²⁹² For other references to Kino's expedition to California with Atondo, see the "Index" under "Atondo."

²⁹³ As a matter of fact, the cost was only a quarter of a million, as is frequently stated on official authority. Kino evidently had not access to official sources of information on this point.

Pichilingues²⁹⁴ with many pirogues were lying in wait for it, to rob it, in the port of Navidad.²⁹⁵

The holy zeal of Father Juan Maria Salvatierra was so moved to compassion that, as has already been stated, on hearing, in his visit to this Pimeria,²⁹⁶ of the ripeness of so great a harvest of souls, he made a report to Mexico as early as the year 1691, in order that the conquest and conversion of the said Californias should be continued; and although his purpose was not immediately accomplished, his Reverence did accomplish it afterward.

CHAPTER III. FATHER JUAN MARIA SALVATIERRA, AVAILING HIMSELF OF THE ALMS OF THE FAITHFUL, CROSSES OVER FROM HYA- QUI TO THE CONVERSION OF CALIFORNIA IN 1697²⁹⁷

By his untiring and holy zeal, Father Juan Maria Salvatierra succeeded with such felicity and efficacy, thanks to the sovereign Lord, to most holy Mary and to the most glorious apostle of the Indies, San Francis-

²⁹⁴ The name given the Dutch pirates on the West Coast.

²⁹⁵ Navidad is a port on the coast of Mexico in latitude 19° 13' and twenty miles northwest of Manzanillo harbor. In the sixteenth century it was one of the most important western harbors, and was the port for the Manila galleon before that of Acapulco was opened.

From Kino's own letters, just obtained from Seville, we now know that on May 30, 1685, he was at Torín, Sinaloa; on October 10 he was at the Jesuit College of Guadalajara; on November 15 he was on board the *Almiranta* at Matanchel ready to go to meet the Manila galleon; on February 15, 1686, he was at the Casa Profesa, Mexico (A.G.I. 67-3-28).

²⁹⁶ See *ante*, pages 117-121, for Salvatierra's visit to Pimeria Alta and his journey into Arizona with Kino.

²⁹⁷ The details of Salvatierra's expedition to California are given in Father Picolo's report, volume ii, 46-67. Other original authorities are Salvatierra's letters printed in *Doc. Hist. Mex., segunda série*, vol. i, 103-157. Some newly discovered manuscript sources are listed in the "Bibliography." For secondary accounts see Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i, and Venegas, *Noticia*.

co Xavier, in crossing over to California, that on the tenth of October, 1697, he accomplished his glorious purposes, embarking in Hyaqui with the necessary men and funds by means of the alms which his Reverence obtained from the faithful and from various pious persons, especially Don Juan Cavallero.²⁹⁸

I was also to go on this enterprise with his Reverence, but the superiors here, the royal justice, and the citizens of this province, through reports which they sent to Mexico, prevented me.²⁹⁹ Afterward Father Francisco Picolo crossed over, and the most glorious fruit which their Reverences are producing merits other separate treatises by a better pen, for mine is very clumsy; for now, with the other conquerors, they have three large ships of their own, and other small ones; this year of 1699 they have already found very rich lands in latitude twenty-six degrees, and are beginning three excellent missions, one called Nuestra Señora de Loreto de Concho, on the east coast, another called San Francisco Xavier del Nipe³⁰⁰ on the sierra and inland; (and another, Nuestra Señora de los Dolores)³⁰¹ they intend to found on the opposite coast. From the lofty sierra which we named La Giganta they see both seas, that of California to the east, and the South Sea to the west. Everything inspires very great hopes that where there had been so many and

²⁹⁸ The beginnings of the Pious Fund are set forth by Engelhardt, vol. i, 73-75. Don Alonso Dávalos, Conde de Miravalles, and Don Matheo Fernández de la Cruz, Marqués de Buena Vista, each promised \$1,000. Others followed their example, and \$15,000 were soon raised. Don Pedro Gil de la Sierpe, treasurer of Acapulco, donated a launch. The Cofradía de N.S. de los Dolores, in Mexico, gave \$10,000, and Rev. Juan Cavallero y Cosío, a wealthy priest of Querétaro, gave \$20,000.

²⁹⁹ In 1698 Kino was granted a license to spend half his time in California. See volume ii, 157-158.

³⁰⁰ A mis-copy for Viggé.

³⁰¹ In the margin of the original.

almost insuperable obstacles, the infinite goodness of our Lord with His celestial favors is going to establish a very flourishing Christendom and bring about the eternal salvation of very many souls.

CHAPTER IV. VARIOUS VOYAGES AND EXPEDITIONS
WHICH HAVE BEEN MADE TO CALIFORNIA
SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE CON-
QUEST OF NEW SPAIN ³⁰²

During the eighteen years that I have lived in New Spain I have tried to acquire all the information possible in regard to those who have gone to California, and in what years, and I have obtained the following:

The first who went to discover California and to enter the port of Nuestra Señora de la Paz was the Marques del Valle, Don Fernando Cortes, who, having conquered Mexico in the year 1522, eleven years afterward, in 1533, with twelve ³⁰³ ships undertook and accomplished this discovery of California. ³⁰⁴

In the year 1535 the new and first viceroy of New

³⁰² Excellent chapters on the subject are found in Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, vol. i, chaps. iii, iv, vi, vii, and viii. On the whole, the summary by Kino is remarkably good, as compared with other accounts written at so early a date. A valuable summary of the various attempts to subdue California was made by the Council of the Indies on July 9, 1701, in a document bearing the title: *Consejo de Indias a 9 de Jullio de 1701. Representa a V. Mgd. lo que ha passado en la conquista poblacion y reducion de las Californias desde su principio; El Estado que oy tiene, y las providenzias que combendra se den para acalorar a los Religiosos de la Compañia que se han encargado de esta empresa y la tienen muy adelantada*. Eleven Ms. pages (A.G.I. Aud. de Guadalajara, 67-1-37). The document notes a pearl fishing permit before that of Vizcaíno, namely, one given in 1585, by the Viceroy Moya de Contreras, to Fernando de Santo Ortiz.

³⁰³ Apparently a slip for two—*dos*.

³⁰⁴ The reference is to the expedition of Becerra and Grijalva in the *Concepción* and the *San Lázaro*, from Tehuantepec, in 1533. The crew of the *Concepción* murdered Becerra, and, under command of Fortún Jiménez, discovered California. Jiménez, in turn, was murdered by his crew (Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, 45-47, and works there cited).

Spain, Don Antonio de Mendoza, sent to continue this enterprise General Francisco de Alarcon with other ships with high decks, which were all lost, and the soldiers and mariners barely escaped with their lives, but reached the port of Navidad. Hereupon explorers were discouraged for many years.³⁰⁵

In the year 1597 Sebastian Biscaino went at his own expense to the Californias with five religious of San Francisco, but shortly afterward returned to Acapulco.³⁰⁶

In the year 1602, in the time of Felipe III, the Conde de Monte Rey being viceroy, he³⁰⁷ went at the expense of the royal treasury with three ships and with three religious of Nuestra Señora del Carmen and traced all the west coast.³⁰⁸

In the year 1606 there came a royal *cédula* to the Señor viceroy, Conde de Montes Claros, ordering that the above named Sebastian Biscaino should go to settle in the port of Monte Rey.

In the year 1615, Captain Yturbe,³⁰⁹ with the license which he had secured from Felipe III, and after the Pichilingues had taken away one of his two ships, went to California with the other. He went up to thirty degrees of latitude, and the Señor viceroy, the Marques de Guadalcazar, sent him to advise the ship

³⁰⁵ Kino has apparently confused the expedition of Cortés in 1535 with that of Alarcón in 1540. Cortés led a colony to California but it soon failed. Alarcón's expedition of 1540 was a part of the Coronado expedition to New Mexico.

³⁰⁶ The Vizcaino expedition started in 1596 and returned in 1597.

³⁰⁷ Vizcaino.

³⁰⁸ For diaries of this expedition, see Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706*, 42-133. The three Carmelites were friars Andrés de la Asunción, Antonio de la Ascensión, and Tomás de Aquino.

³⁰⁹ Iturbe. See Chapman, *The Founding of Spanish California*, 9-10; Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, vol. i, 163-164.

from China that the Pichilingues, Dutch pirates, were lying in wait for him.

In the year 1632, Captain Francisco de Ortega,⁸¹⁰ with a ship which he had built at his own expense, went from Masatlan on the first of March to the bays of the Californias which they call Bahia de San Bernabe and Bahia de la Paz; and in the month of September returned to Cinaloa.⁸¹¹

In the following year, 1633, this Captain Francisco de Ortega went a second time with two clerics named Don Diego de las Navas and Don Juan de Zuñiga, who in the harbor of Nuestra Señora de la Paz solemnized one hundred and six baptisms. He went up to thirty-two degrees latitude, and returned to New Spain; and although he went three times to these Californias, their conquest was not effected.

A few years afterward, about 1636, Captain Carboneli, who had been a pilot of Captain Ortega, went to the Californias. He went up to thirty-six degrees latitude. Also, the new governor of Cinaloa, Luys Sestin de Cañas, went in a little ship. He took with him Father Jasinto Cortes, of the Company of Jesus, who on his return wrote to the father provincial, Luys de Bonifas, of the docility and meekness of the natives of the Californias, offering himself as missionary there.⁸¹²

In the years 1643 and 1644 Phelipe IV sent the Admiral Don Pedro Portel de Casanate to the Californias, at the same time charging the Señor Conde de

⁸¹⁰ For the Ortega voyages see Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i, 170-176.

⁸¹¹ The dates given by Bancroft (*North Mexican States*, vol. i, 171-172) vary slightly from those given here.

⁸¹² For Carbonel, see Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i, 175-176. The expedition of Cestín de Cañas was in 1642. *Ibid.*, 181.

Salvatierra with their conquest and conversion; and said Admiral, having built two ships, set out to meet the China ship at the Island of Zeniza.³¹³ In going and returning he merely entered in passing the Bay of San Bernabe; and having arrived at the mouth of the Rio de Santiago, whence he sent a post to his Excellency, the villains burnt his two ships.³¹⁴

In the year 1647 the same Admiral built two other ships in the Villa de Cinaloa; and in the years 1648 and 1649 he went in them a second time to the Californias, taking with him Father Jasinto Cortes and Father Andres Baes. He discovered many harbors and coves, and in all parts many natives. Later he was sent to warn the China ship, and soon afterward entered upon the governorship of Chile.³¹⁵

In the year 1664 Admiral Don Bernardo Bernal de Piñadero went to California at his Majesty's expense³¹⁶ with two ships which he had built in the Valle de Vандeras; but, although some pearls were obtained, because of the discord and the deaths which occurred the purpose of the conquest was not accomplished, neither then nor when three years afterward³¹⁷ came the order for him to go again to California, as he did in the year 1667, with two other ships, which he had built in the Puerto de Chacala with money which he had borrowed.

In the year 1668 Captain Francisco de Lusenilla

³¹³ An island north of Cerros Island, near the outer coast of Lower California. See Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706*, Index.

³¹⁴ They were burned in the harbor of the Santiago or Tololotlán, the deed being charged to the Portuguese competitor of Casanate. Bancroft, *ibid.*, 182-183.

³¹⁵ Kino gives data here that Bancroft did not have. See *ibid.*, 183. The accounts by Venegas and Alegre are evidently taken directly from this passage.

³¹⁶ Bancroft does not give the date. *Ibid.*, 184.

³¹⁷ The text reads "eight years afterward" but is corrected in the margin to read "three years afterward." See Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i, 183-184.

went to the Californias with two ships which he had built at his own expense, and with two religious of San Francisco he reached the Cape of San Lucas and the port of Nuestra Señora de la Pas. Finally, he returned to the port of San Francisco Xavier de los Guaimas, near the mouth of the Rio de Hyaqui.³¹⁸

In the years 1681, 1682, 1683, 1684, and 1685, by order of his Majesty Don Carlos II (God guard him), in the time of the viceroys Don Fray Payo and the Marques de la Laguna, Admiral Don Ysidro de Atondo y Antillon built in Cinaloa to go to the Californias (at a cost of more than half a million³¹⁹ to the royal treasury) three ships, the *Capitana*, *Almiranta*, and *Balandra*; and on the twenty-fifth of March of the year 1684,^{319a} we went and reached the Puerto de la Paz, and higher up, in latitude twenty-six degrees, the Real de San Bruno. By land we crossed over to the opposite coast, discovering the Rio de Santo Thomas, and in all parts many natives, docile and peaceable. Three fathers of the Company of Jesus went also, and in the eighteen months that we were in said California we left many of the natives instructed. In the year 1685 we were sent to meet the China ship, and we convoyed it in safety to the port of Acapulco.³²⁰ In Mexico his Excellency granted us an appropriation of thirty thousand dollars; but because at the time when it was about to be paid requests came from Spain for five hundred thousand dollars, the conquest was suspended. Recently we have had a glimpse of it on three occasions by way of the Pimeria; in the years 1693 and 1694, in latitude thirty degrees, from the very shores

³¹⁸ See Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i, 184-185.

³¹⁹ The cost was a quarter of a million in fact. See *ante*, page 214.

^{319a} A mistake for 1683.

³²⁰ For accounts of Atondo's attempt, see *ante*, pages 35-49, 213-214.

of the arm of the sea which divides the land of California from that of this Pimeria, which is no more than eighteen leagues wide.³²¹

Captain Francisco de Ytamarra went to California in the month of October, 1694, and found that the natives of the Island of San Bruno, of San Dionisio, and of San Agustin asked with insistence for the fathers of the Company of Jesus.³²²

On the tenth of October, 1697, Father Juan Maria Salvatierra went to California with alms from the faithful, and I, who was appointed as his companion, remained for the present in this Pimeria by order of the Señor viceroy and of the father provincial, Father Francisco Maria Picolo going in my place.

CHAPTER V. OTHER RECENT INFORMATION IN REGARD TO THE PRESENT STATE OF CALIFORNIA, DERIVED FROM THE LETTERS WHICH FATHER JUAN MARIA SALVATIERRA WRITES TO THE FATHER VISITOR ANTONIO LEAL, ON SEPTEMBER 2, AND TO ME ON OCTOBER 17, 1699

Since the time when I was in California, at the port of Nuestra Señora de la Paz and at the Real de San Bruno, I have been aided and succored with all liberality and charity by Father Gaspar Thomas, rector of the College of Matape, and the father visitor, Juan Bautista de Anzieta, visitor of these missions of Cinaloa and Sonora, and many other fathers. The long letter of the Father Visitor Juan Maria de Salvatierra to the Father Visitor Antonio Leal says in substance the following:

The father provincial Luis de Bonifas prophesied that the

³²¹ See *ante*, pages 123-126.

³²² Venegas and Alegre, on whom Bancroft depends for data on Itamarra, follow Kino. See Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i, 194.

missions of California would be colonies of those of Nueva Biscaya and that one would aid another. As Father Andres Peres ³²³ relates, with the coming of the China ship to the opposite coast and with the development of water transportation, in time not a few things which are very dear in the province will become cheaper. Let these missions of California, so small and new, be aided for two or three years, and afterward they will sustain themselves.

That province of Sonora has been the mother of all the missions for the last thirty years, since in Sonora (and in the visitation of the Pimeria in the year 1691) were born the strong desires whence has resulted the birth of this mission of California. In it, thanks be to the Lord, is the pueblo of Loreto Concho, and in it are fifty-four persons from the other side, from New Spain, soldiers, women, and salaried servants. On the sea I have thirty-two mariners in three vessels, all salaried. On land the Indians are at peace and in subjection. We have good land, and the opposite coast has been reconnoitered and explored. And if we are not deserted, sometime we shall make an expedition by land and by sea to the opposite shore for the discovery of a good harbor (in the vicinity and latitude of this post of Loreto), suitable to shelter the China ship and succor any that comes into it in great distress, for mere lack of a landing-place, a long standing want, and motive enough for our Company, mother of the sick and disabled, to take in hand any enterprise. We two fathers here have four new pueblos, the adults being catechumens, and many little ones and sick adults being Christians; and they subject themselves to receive punishment without mutinies or revolts. Here every kind of animal multiplies; and already there are here eight species of animals from the other side, now acclimated to Loreto. With two years only of encouragement it appears to me this will be altogether assured.

I have no lack of means for the payment of the soldiers, servants, and sailors, nor for merchandise. They receive their pay whenever they wish, indeed, they have received five thousand pesos by appropriation in Mexico in royal securities this year;

³²³ The reference is to Pérez de Ribas, *Historia de los Triunfos de Nuestra Santa Fee*.

and the goods are cheap here. The only lack I have suffered is of provisions, and, because of this shortage, some worries and danger of mutiny among the people. But the most holy Virgin, conqueror and colonizer, has been present with us in all and has brought us succor not on one occasion, but on many, when least we expected it, as is the case now with the return of the bark, by which I have received twenty-four loads, twenty-three of flour and one of *pinole*, a fine present, all of which comes to me from the province of Sonora. The natives not yet conquered tremble before our arms, directed by the arm of Mary. And we hope that in the first expedition to San Xavier del Vigge, which is in the centre of the sierra, those of the opposite coast will come to render obedience, to facilitate matters, and that they themselves may be the ones to call us to go to their land and prevent so far as possible the outbreak of war or confusion.

Thus far Father Juan Maria Salvatierra to Father Visitor Antonio Leal; and to me, on October 17, his Reverence writes the following:

Father Francisco Maria Picolo is at present in the pueblo of San Xavier Biaontom, within the sierra, a very pleasant land. Eusebio, your Reverence's son, Andresillo's nephew, is well, and salutes your Reverence, to whom because of haste I write no more.

LORETO CONCHO.

October 17, 1699.

PART II

OF THE CELESTIAL FAVORS OF
Jesus, Most Holy Mary, and the Most
Glorious Apostle of the Indies, San
Francisco Xavier, experienced in the
New Conversions of this North Amer-
ica, or New Philippines, in the Years
1699, 1700, 1701, 1702; and the New
Discovery of the Passage by Mainland
to California in Thirty-two Degrees
of Latitude, by which it is found to be
not an Island, but a Peninsula, with
very Fertile Lands, with Very Large,
Rich, and Populous Rivers, with Many
Gentle, Docile, and Friendly New Na-
tions.

BOOK I. OF THE MEASURES, DISPOSITIONS, AND EXPEDITIONS WHICH IN THE YEAR 1699 ARE MADE IN ORDER TO DISCOVER THE LAND ROUTE TO CALIFORNIA

CHAPTER I. LETTERS OF THE PRINCIPAL SUPERIORS, AND THE VERY CATHOLIC ROYAL CÉDULA, WHICH INSPIRE THE WRITING OF THIS SECOND PART OF THE CELESTIAL FAVORS

Having written, by order of our father general, Thyrso Gonzales, the account of the celestial favors, which I have set forth in the First Part, and having sent it from the Real de San Juan to Mexico by Bachelor Don Joseph Moreno that it might be taken to Rome, as it was taken by the father procurators Bernardo Rolandegui and Nicolas de Vera,³²⁴ his Reverence answered me in a letter of December 24, 1701, which I received December 26, 1702, that he had received it and read it with such pleasure that most affectionately he charged me to write this Second Part. At the same time the father provincial, Francisco de Arteaga, also wrote me a very paternal holy letter, with the superscription of the rector³²⁵ of these missions of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, asking me for information in regard to them, to give to our father general. And soon afterward, by the hand of the father visitor,

³²⁴ See *post*, page 375.

³²⁵ *I.e.*, forwarded by the rector.

Antonio Leal, his Reverence sent me the printed report on the state of California which Father Francisco Maria Picolo drew up and printed,³²⁶ with the inserted very Catholic and most Christian royal *cédula* of the King our Lord Felipe V (God preserve him many most happy years) dated July 17, 1701, which so greatly favors the new conquests and new conversions, not only of California, but also of Cinaloa and Sonora and of this Nueva Biscaya where we live, enjoining their encouragement and advancement, at the same time with that of the new conversions of California, and containing these most pious words to his Royal Audiencia of Guadalaxara:

I ask and charge you to inform me very minutely in regard to the region in which the uncivilized Indians are found, and the present state of the conversions in Cinaloa, and Sonora, and Nueva Biscaya, that in view of these reports and your opinion I may proceed to adopt the measures which I may deem expedient,³²⁷ etc.

The royal *cédula* as well as the letters of the principal superiors will be put in their place at the time when they were received, that is, at the close of 1702, as most singular celestial favors which, in the midst of such contradictions, we have experienced in these new conversions. All these things impel me with great force to write this second part, as my continued and multitudinous occupations may permit.

³²⁶ Printed in this work, volume ii, 46-67.

³²⁷ A transcript of this *cédula*, from the Archivo General de Indias (A.G.I. 67-3-28) is in the Bancroft Library. Kino does not quote exactly here, but paraphrases the paragraph.

CHAPTER II. IN VARIOUS EXPEDITIONS REPORTS
OF THE PASSAGE BY LAND TO CALIFORNIA
ARE OBTAINED ³²⁸

When, ten years ago, setting out from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores for the west, and passing through the lands of El Soba, I arrived, after sixty leagues' journey, on three different occasions with different persons at the coast of the Sea of California, we saw plainly that that arm of the sea kept getting narrower, for in this latitude of thirty-three degrees we already saw on the other side more than twenty-five leagues of California land in a stretch so distinctly that we estimated the distance across or width of that arm of the sea to be no more than fifteen or eighteen or twenty leagues.³²⁹

Therefrom arose the desire to ascertain the width higher up; and in the year 1698, at thirty-five degrees latitude, and at one hundred and five leagues by a northwest course from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, on the very high hill, or ancient volcano, of Santa Clara, I descried most plainly both with a telescope and without a telescope the junction of these lands of New Spain with those of California, the head of this Sea of California,³³⁰ and the land passage which was there in thirty-five degrees latitude. At that time, however, I did not recognize it as such, and I persuaded myself that farther on and more to the west the Sea of California must extend to a higher latitude and communicate with the North Sea or Strait of Anian, and must leave or make California an island. And it was with me as with the brethren of Joseph, who ate with him and made merry with him, he giving them the

³²⁸ This chapter summarizes the genesis of Kino's idea of the peninsularity of California.

³²⁹ See *ante*, pages 123-126.

³³⁰ See *ante*, pages 184-189.

wheat and provisions which they required, and talked with him but knew him not, until his time.³³¹

A year afterward, at the suggestion of the father visitor, Oracio Police, I penetrated one hundred and seventy leagues to the northwest, and went beyond thirty-five degrees north latitude, with Father Adamo Gilg and Captain Juan Mateo Manje, and almost reached the confluence of the Rio Grande de Hila and the Colorado, where the natives gave us some blue shells.³³² And still it did not occur to us that by that way there was a land-passage to California, or to the head of its sea; and not until we were on the road returning to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores did it occur to me that those blue shells must be from the opposite coast of California and the South Sea, and that by the route by which they had come thence, from there to here, we could pass from here thither, and to California. And from that time forward I ceased work on the bark, twelve *varas* long and four wide, which we were building at La Concepcion del Cabotca near the Sea of California, and here at Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, intending to carry it afterward, entire, to the sea.

CHAPTER III. DIARY OF THE EXPEDITION TO THE
NORTH IN ORDER TO DISCOVER A ROAD AND
ROUTE BY LAND TO CALIFORNIA, AS
MANY PERSONS DESIRE, WRITE
ABOUT, AND REQUEST³³³

MARCH 29, 1700. The expedition of which I write in this and the three following chapters I made from the twenty-first of April to the sixth of May, 1700; and

³³¹ *Genesis*, chaps. 42-45.

³³² See *ante*, pages 193-199.

³³³ So far as I am aware, there is no other first hand account of the expedition which gives the story of the founding of Mission San Xavier del Bac. Ortega wrote his brief account from this, and others have followed him.

the father visitor, Antonio Leal, saw, read, and signed the account, with these words: "I have seen this account and the letters which in it are cited, and the originals are as they are quoted."

Being in the pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios on the twentieth of March, a governor from near the Rio Grande, and other Pima natives, brought me a holy cross, with a string of twenty blue shells, which were sent me by the principal governor of the Cocomaricopas, who lives in the great ranchería of Dacoydag, with a very friendly response to some messages which I had sent him, inviting him to receive our holy faith, in imitation of many others. This ranchería is on the Rio Colorado, and is one hundred and seventy leagues to the northwest of this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. And again reflecting that those blue shells were from the opposite coast, as I had seen them there when I was in California, I informed several fathers of them, sending them afterward, together with the holy cross, to the Father Visitor Antonio Leal; for his predecessors, Father Visitor Manuel Gonzales, Father Visitor Juan Maria de Salvatierra, and Father Visitor Oracio Police, had very strongly urged the exploration of those lands, seas, and rivers of the north and of the northwest.

In the middle of April his Reverence replied to me as follows: "The cross and shells came with your Reverence's letter to Arispe, and I greatly rejoice at seeing them, because of the distance whence they sent them, which is an indication of friendliness." And Father Marcos Antonio Kappus, rector of the College of Matape, on the tenth of April wrote me the following: "God bless me! And what great news and how rare is that which your Reverence imparts to me, and which the

people of the north and the northwest bring you, to the effect that it is possible to pass overland to California, news truly the greatest, if it is verified, but which, although desired so long, it has never been possible to confirm. May our Lord grant that the news may be verified, since for Father Juan Maria de Salvatierra it will be most gratifying, etc."

Also, the reverend father rector of this mission of San Francisco Xavier, Adamo Gilg, wrote me that it was expedient to employ means to verify these things, etc.; and the Señor military commander, Don Domingo Jyronza Petris de Cruzatt, informed me that he had the same very anxious zeal for those discoveries; while at this very same time came to me the desired license from our father general, Tyrso Gonzales, to occupy myself six months of the year in this Pimeria and six in California. For this reason and in order at the same time to cast a glance at the spiritual and temporal condition of the three newly begun missions of the north and the northwest, I determined to go inland for a few days to find out and obtain all possible information in regard to these matters.

APRIL 21, 1700. And, setting out on the twenty-first of April from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, with three justices of this pueblo, seven servants, and fifty-three sumpters, some being mules and others horses, we arrived at Nuestra Señora de los Remedios.

22. On the twenty-second, having in the morning given orders as to what the natives were to do in the building of the new church, in the afternoon we reached Cocospora, where we were received by one hundred and fifty natives, who had just returned to settle this pueblo, and had just rebuilt and roofed a hall and a lodge for

the father's house, with orders soon to roof the little church also, for three years before, on the twenty-fifth of February, 1697, the hostile Hojomes and Janos had sacked and burned this pueblo, although soon afterward, on the thirtieth of March, near Quiburi Captain Coro with his Pima people routed and destroyed them, killing more than two hundred of them, as is related in the First Part.³³⁴

23. On the twenty-third, three infants having been given us to baptize, we set out for San Lazaro, where we took our siesta, and where they gave us a little girl to baptize, and on the way to San Luys they gave us two others, one little girl, and one adult, a sick woman; and another, a little boy, on our arrival at San Luys, where the five justices of Guebavi came to meet us, with those of San Luys. We killed one beef of the one hundred and fifty which they were tending there, with a drove of mares, and with one hundred and seventeen head of sheep and goats, with a good field of wheat, maize, and beans which they had, and with an earth-roofed adobe house, all for the father whom, with the other neighboring rancherías, or incipient pueblos, they hoped to receive.

24. On the twenty-fourth we set out for Guebavi and San Cayetano. In Guebavi, where we took a siesta, there were about two hundred souls; in Los Reyes de Sonoydag, five leagues farther eastward, Captain Coro had gathered with all his people, who numbered more than five hundred souls. Thirteen days before, at Easter, here at Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, he had been instructed and baptized, naming himself Antonio Leal. In all places there were many more people, and more houses than when we entered here six months be-

³³⁴ This was in 1698, as has been made clear, *ante*, page 176, footnote 211.

fore with Father Visitor Antonio Leal and the Señor lieutenant of this Pimeria, Juan Mateo Manje.³⁸⁵ Here at Guebavi there were also eighty-four head of sheep and goats, a good field of wheat, maize and beans ready for harvest, and an earth-roofed adobe house for the father whom they hoped to receive. In the afternoon we arrived at San Cayetano.

25. On the twenty-fifth we set out for San Xavier del Bac, of the Sobaypuris, about twenty leagues' journey, arriving at nightfall, and being welcomed with all kindness by many natives of this great ranchería. We gave them here, as in other places, the paternal greetings which the father visitor sent to all, and they were very grateful for them; also the word of God was spoken to them, and was well received.

CHAPTER IV. AT SAN FRANCISCO XAVIER DEL BAAC OF THE SOBAYPORIS I CALLED THE PRINCIPAL GOVERNORS AND CAPTAINS FROM MORE THAN FORTY LEAGUES AROUND TO FIND OUT WHETHER THE BLUE SHELLS CAME FROM ANY OTHER REGION THAN THE OPPOSITE COAST OF CALIFORNIA

APRIL 26, 1700. Having arrived at this great ranchería of San Xavier del Baac of these Sobaiporis of the west, which are those of the Rio de Santa Maria (the Sobaypuris of the Rio de San Joseph living thirty leagues farther to the east) I heard the news which also I had heard on the road two or three days before, that some soldiers had gone into the Pimeria of Soba and of the west, and finding myself with so many Indians in this great valley, who were close to three thousand, and also in view of the many prayers of the natives that I should stay with them, I determined not to go farther.

³⁸⁵ See *ante*, pages 203-210.

And from this great valley of San Xavier, by way of the Rio Grande westward as far as the Cocomaricopas and Yumas, and even to the Rio Colorado, as I desired, I tried to take and did take measures to find out whether the blue shells came from any other region than the opposite coast of California. To that end I despatched various messengers in all directions, some to the east to call Captain Humaric; others to the north to call those of Santa Catalina, and those of La Encarnacion and of San Andres, of the Rio Grande, with their justices, governors, and captains; and especially others to the west and northwest to call various Pima, Opa, and Cocomaricopa governors from near the Rio Colorado, to learn with all possible exactness in regard to the blue shells and the passage by land to California. During the seven days that we were here, while most of those whom I sent with the invitations were on the way, we catechized the people and taught them the Christian doctrine every day, morning and afternoon. We killed six beeves of the three hundred which they were tending for me here, with forty head of sheep and goats, and a small drove of mares. They had also a good field of wheat which was beginning to head; and during the following days they planted for the church a large field of maize, which they had previously cleared.

27. On the twenty-seventh they gave me five little ones to baptize.

28. On the twenty-eighth we began the foundations of a very large and capacious church³³⁶ and house of San Xavier del Baac, all the many people working with much pleasure and zeal, some in digging for the foundations, others in hauling many and very good stones of *tezontle* from a little hill which was about a quarter

³³⁶ This paragraph should set at rest forever the perennial conjectures regarding the date of the founding of the celebrated mission of San Xavier del Bac.

of a league away.³³⁷ For the mortar for these foundations it was not necessary to haul water, because by means of the irrigation ditches we very easily conducted the water where we wished. And that house, with its great court and garden near by, will be able to have throughout the year all the water it may need, running to any place or work-room one may please, and one of the greatest and best fields in all Nueva Biscaya.

29. On the twenty-ninth we continued laying the foundations of the church and of the house. Today and yesterday Captain Humaric and his son, named Oracio Police, arrived from the Sobaiporis of the east; the other and elder son, named Francisco Xavier, had remained behind to guard their country, which is on the Apache frontier. Many other justices also came, and among them an alcalde to whom the soldiers in the last expedition, which they made in November, 1699, had given the staff of office.

30. On the thirtieth, at sunrise, various letters from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores were brought me by a courier of this Pimeria, who, it appeared, must have made the sixty leagues which intervenes in a day and a half and the two nights. After mass I went down to the ranchería of San Cosme, a three leagues' journey, and to that of San Agustin, two leagues farther, to see whether there were any sick or little ones to baptize. At San Cosme they gave me six children to baptize, and one adult, a sick woman; and at San Agustin I baptized three more little ones. In the afternoon we returned to San Xavier del Baac, and at nightfall various justices arrived from the northwest and from Santa Catalina and from the Rio and Casa Grande, among

³³⁷ Apparently the hill to the east of the mission on which is placed the grotto of Lourdes. *Texontle* is a porous stone much used for building in Mexico.

them being the captain and governor of La Encarnacion, thirty-five leagues away. Immediately, and also at night, we had long talks, in the first place in regard to our holy faith, and in regard to the peace, and quietude, and love, and happiness of Christians, and they promised, as we requested of them, to carry these good news and teachings to other rancherías and nations much farther on, to the Cocomaricopas, Yumas, etc. At the same time I made further and further inquiries as to whence came the blue shells, and all asserted that there were none in this nearest Sea of California, but that they came from other lands more remote.

We discussed also what means there might be whereby to penetrate to the Moquis of New Mexico, and we found that by going straight north the entry would be very difficult, since these Pimas were on very unfriendly terms with the Apaches who live between, although the distance and the journey was probably not more than sixty or seventy leagues, for this valley of San Xavier del Baac is in thirty-two and a half degrees of north latitude, and the Moquis and Zuñis in thirty-six degrees.

MAY 1, 1700. On the first of May, in the afternoon and at nightfall, many justices, captains, and governors arrived from the west, from San Francisco del Addi, and from San Serafin, some coming forty and fifty leagues. We talked with them a great part of the night, as we had done the night before, in regard to the eternal salvation of all those nations of the west and the northwest, at the same time continuing various inquiries in regard to the blue shells which were brought from the northwest and from the Yumas and Cutganes, which admittedly came from the opposite coast of California and from the sea which is ten or twelve days' journey

farther than this other Sea of California, on which there are shells of pearl and white, and many others, but none of those blue ones³³⁸ which they gave us among the Yumas and sent me with the holy cross to Nuestra Señora de los Remedios.

CHAPTER V. LETTERS WHICH REACH ME FROM
THE SOLDIERS WHO MEANTIME HAD COME
INTO THE PIMERIA, FROM CUCURPE TO
SAN YGNACIO AND TO TUBUTAMA, ETC.

This first day of May there also reached me, from the southwest, letters from the squadron of soldiers who had come to Tubutama and Saric, and whose commander, Alférez Juan Bautista Escalante, wrote me the following:

MY FATHER EUSEBIO FRANCISCO KINO, I can not refrain from writing these lines to inform your Reverence that, having entered this Pimeria, I have come to two rancherías which I had never seen before, namely, that of El Saric, and this one higher up, called El Busanic [and Tucubavia].³³⁹ I assure your Reverence I have infinitely rejoiced and also been impressed to see so many people as are here together, for, as they are obedient and docile they are better than Christian pueblos. But it is a great pity that these poor creatures lack a father minister to lead and guide them to the bosom of our holy faith. In order to report this truth to my general, that he may coöperate in this very holy work, I ordered all the people assembled, and I found and counted four hundred and thirty-seven souls, a source of much pleasure to all. These are in this ranchería of Busanic alone; in the one which I have seen lower down there are also many people. I am about to start outward, and therefore I am not going further into the interior. Now I pray the divine Majesty to grant your Reverence the health which my great affection desires for you, and which your great zeal and your great charity deserves, for the protection of this heathendom. From this

³³⁸ Here Kino draws on his experience in California between 1683 and 1685.

³³⁹ Added on the margin of the original Ms.

ranchería of El Busanic, April 26, 1700. I kiss your Reverence's hand. Your faithful servant, JUAN BAUTISTA ESCALANTE.

P.S. I report to your Reverence also that in this ranchería I killed a bull for them ³⁴⁰ from the stock which your Reverence has here, and I beg your Reverence to approve it.

Thus far the commander of the soldiers. Juan Casaos wrote almost the same. And as all this Pimeria, seventeen thousand souls, are being reduced, well may it be seen how great a need there is for workers.

CHAPTER VI. MY RETURN TO NUESTRA SEÑORA DE
LOS DOLORES, AND MY DESIRE AND ATTEMPT
TO LIVE AND ESTABLISH A MISSION AT
SAN FRANCISCO XAVIER DEL BAAC,
IN ORDER TO BE NEARER TO
SO MANY NEW NATIONS

MAY 2. On May 2, having solemnized three other baptisms and two marriages *in facie Ecclesiæ*,³⁴¹ and bidding goodbye to those captains and governors, we set out for Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. All the children gave me many messages for the father visitor, for the other fathers, the Señor military commander, and all of the Spaniards; and the captain of San Xavier del Baac gave me his son, who was probably about twelve years old, to come and he did come with me the sixty leagues' journey to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores to be taught the prayers and the Christian doctrine and to assist at mass.

3. On the third, in San Cayetano, as I was going at sunrise to say mass, I received a letter from Father Agustín de Campos, in which his Reverence summoned me to San Ygnacio to help save from death a poor delinquent whom the soldiers had taken prisoner with the intent and determination to beat him to death the fol-

³⁴⁰ For the soldiers.

³⁴¹ "Before the church."

lowing day, May 4. I replied that I would go immediately after mass. I also wrote to Alférez Juan Bautista Escalante, thanking him for the letter which I had received two days before at San Xavier del Baac. Travelling that day more than twenty-five leagues, I arrived almost at midnight at San Joseph de Hymeres, and the next day very early, in time to say mass, at San Ygnacio, and we succeeded in rescuing the prisoner from death.

5-6. On the fifth I arrived with two soldiers at Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, and on the sixth at Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, where, in answer to a letter which I had written from San Francisco Xavier del Baac to the father visitor, Antonio Leal, offering myself and even expressing my desire and pleading to be the missionary at San Xavier del Baac and asking that a successor be given me at Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, I received from his Reverence the following very fine letter:

I thank your Reverence sincerely in the name of our Lord for the work which you have undertaken in His holy service for the welfare of those poor souls, for visiting them, for the good you have done in the confessions, etc., and for which you will have your reward laid up in heaven. Let me say, my father, that, in regard to what your Reverence writes about the founding of San Xavier del Baac, what has been said has been said, and that your Reverence may look upon it as your mission, because it appears to me very expedient for the progress in the future; for, your Reverence being so far this way at los Dolores, it is not so easy to see and to go frequently to the people of the Rio Grande. And so, when your Reverence may think best and may please, it shall be arranged, and your Reverence may go thither, as we agreed when we discussed it there.³⁴²

Thus far the father visitor, Antonio Leal. And in fact, within a few days, here at Nuestra Señora de los

³⁴² The reference is to the journey of 1699 by Leal and Kino. It is shown elsewhere that Kino did not go to Bac, but that Father Gonzalvo went in his stead.

Dolores I ordered rounded up the fourteen hundred-odd cattle which were here and told the overseer that, dividing them into two equal parts, he should take, as he did take, one part to San Francisco Xavier del Baac, and they made for him the necessary corrals, etc. But never did a father come to succeed me in Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, nor could I go permanently to San Xavier del Baac.

When I had communicated the news of this expedition to various persons, the father rector of the College of Matape, Marcos Antonio Kappus, on the fifteenth day of May wrote me the following:

I thank your Reverence for your most delightful letter, and also for the sending of the blue shells; and I shall welcome most heartily the announcement of those discoveries. I am very strongly of the opinion that this land which we are in is mainland and joins that of California. May our Lord grant that there be a road as royal as we think and desire, for thereby the labor as well as the care of California will be lessened.

Afterward, on the third of September, when I was arranging to make an expedition longer than I had theretofore made, his Reverence wrote me these words:

If your Reverence accomplishes the entry by land into California we shall celebrate with great applause so happy a journey, whereby the world will be enlightened as to whether it is an island or a peninsula, which to this day is unknown. *Quod bonum, felix, faustum fortunatumque sit, cedatque ad Dei ter optimi maximi gloriam.*⁸⁴³

The father rector of Oposura, Manuel Gonzales, on the twenty-eighth of May wrote me the following:

I greatly desire that your Reverence may finally make this most desired expedition by land into the Californias. If you accomplish this we must erect to you a rich and famous statue,

⁸⁴³ "May it be good, happy, joyful, and fortunate, and may it redound to the glory of God, thrice holy and mighty."

and if it is short there will be two statues. May God give your Reverence health and strength for this and many other equally good things besides.

Thus far the father rector of Oposura. I answered his Reverence that one of the two statues should be of Jesus of Nazareth, to whom his Reverence was so devoted that he had built and adorned for Him in Oposura the best chapel there is in all these lands; and the other of Our Lady of Sorrows.

CHAPTER VII. EXPEDITION OF ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY LEAGUES TO THE NORTH AND NORTH-WEST IN SEARCH OF THE LAND ROUTE TO CALIFORNIA; AND THE DISCOVERY OF THE VERY LARGE, POPULOUS, AND FERTILE RIO COLORADO (WHICH IS THE TRUE RIO DEL NORTE), AND OF THE NEW NATIONS ³⁴⁴

SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER, 1700. This chapter and the six following are taken from the diary of the expedition which we made in the months of September and October, 1700. In this chapter I shall tell of my arrival at Rio Grande and among the Cocomaricopa nation, a journey of more than one hundred leagues, and in the others the rest. I went toward the north and returned by the west, travelling in going and returning more than three hundred and eighty leagues, from the twenty-fourth of September to the twenty-ninth of October, 1700, and in the meantime I solemnized forty-two baptisms of infants and sick persons.

SEPTEMBER 24. I set out from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores with ten servants of the district and with sixty pack-animals, many of them mules. On this day,

³⁴⁴ The value of Kino's work at this point is illustrated by Bancroft's remark concerning this journey: "The diaries are not extant, and such details as we have relate mainly to California geography, having little interest for our present purpose" (*Arizona and New Mexico*, 359). True then, Bancroft's statement no longer holds. Manje, not being with the expedition, does not give a diary of it.

the twenty-fourth, we arrived early at Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, after a journey of seven leagues. That afternoon we assisted in the building of the new house, and I left them orders and instructions for the new lodge which in my absence they were to finish building and roofing.

25. On the twenty-fifth we set out for the ranch of San Simon y San Judas del Siboda, where there were about a thousand cattle and four droves of mares for the new conversions which were being founded; and having passed by the ranchería of Babasaqui, we arrived after a journey of thirteen leagues and killed a fat beef, which had more than four *arrobas* of suet and tallow.

26. On the twenty-sixth, after a journey of fifteen leagues, we arrived at San Ambrosio del Busanic y del Tucubabia, the captain of this ranchería or incipient pueblo coming four leagues to meet us. Here they were tending for me seventy cattle, as many head of sheep and goats, and five droves of mares, besides wheat, maize, and beans, together with their medium-sized church for the father whom they hoped to receive.

27. On the twenty-seventh, having solemnized after mass nine baptisms, seven of little ones and two of the sick adults, and having sent to advise the people of La Concepcion del Cabotca that within twelve or fifteen [days] they should come to meet us at the ranchería of San Marcelo del Sonoydag, of the coast of the Sea of California, we set out for the watering place of Santa Eulalia and arrived, after a journey of twelve leagues, about an hour after nightfall, because we had been detained in a ranchería of more than three hundred Indians. Their governor had come as far as San Ambrosio del Busanic, and, having spoken to them the Word of God, they made an agreement with us to the

effect that if there should be a missionary father all would assemble to be baptized at San Ambrosio.

28. On the twenty-eighth we set out from the good watering place of Santa Eulalia in company with the fiscal mayor of a *ranchería* which is two leagues beyond. We arrived at this *ranchería*, where they had prepared for us a very great heap of tunas, besides other provisions. As the muleteers had dropped along that road some pieces of dried meat which they carried, the Indians of this *ranchería* who came behind, having found them, were so courteous and loyal that they brought them to us, and in view of this loyalty I divided among them the meat and other little gifts. We travelled today up to nightfall sixteen leagues, through level lands which we had never travelled over or seen before.

29. On the twenty-ninth, four leagues after having set out from the place, we met with more than forty Indians, comprising the principal persons of this vicinity, among them being the captain of San Rafael, the captain of El Comac, and other governors, who had come ten, twenty, and thirty leagues, and who received us with crosses which they carried in their hands and which they gave us. Immediately they sent to various places to bring us many provisions. After travelling six leagues farther we arrived at the water-hole of Nuestra Señora de la Merced del Batqui, where more than two hundred souls had come together. There were various talks on doctrine, given by myself and my teachers³⁴⁵ of doctrine, especially at nightfall, when we taught them, in the Pima language, the method of baptism for dying persons and other cases of necessity which may and sometimes do occur, when there is no priest. Here they gave us two infants to baptize.

³⁴⁵ *I.e.* Indian interpreters and teachers.

30. On the thirtieth of September, having despatched half of the servants with the greater part of the horses to go to await us ten or twelve days in the ranch and *ranchería* of San Marze'lo del Sonoydag, to the westward, we set out with the best horses and mules toward the north for El Comac and the Rio Grande. Having passed by four other lesser *rancherías*, at nightfall and after twenty leagues of very level road we arrived at a great *ranchería* which we named San Gerónimo, because it was the day of this saint. They received us with crosses and arches erected, with a little house, and with provisions prepared, two hundred and eighty Indians (for we counted them) being drawn up in line, as in the Christian pueblos. An hour after nightfall one hundred and fifty other Indians of another *ranchería* came to see us and to extend to us a welcome; because it was night neither the women nor the children had come. Upon inquiry we learned that in this vicinity, into which we had never before entered, there were more than a thousand persons, who had never seen a father or any Spaniard. To all we spoke the Word of God, which was well received.

OCTOBER 1, 1700. On October 1 they gave us seven infants and three sick adults to baptize; and if we had stayed a day, as they requested, they would have given us more than one hundred infants to baptize. Here a new governor, a fiscal mayor, and other justices were appointed.³⁴⁶ This governor, the captain of El Comac, and the governor of San Francisco, went on with us to the Rio Grande, accompanying us and guiding us with all courtesy. At a league's distance there came out to meet us an Indian with four little children, one sick, that I might baptize them, and I baptized the sick child

³⁴⁶ Kino does not mention any military or secular officer with him. In case there was none, Kino must have acted for the King in appointing officers.

for him. They gave us a large quantity of maize and calabashes, but we accepted only a little for that day. After a journey of six leagues we arrived at a very good watering-place, and after twelve more at another, among inaccessible rocks, which the pack-animals could not reach to drink, although the guides brought us enough water for ourselves.

2. On the second, after a journey of ten leagues, we arrived at the Rio Grande and at its ranchería of El Tutto, where we found more than two hundred persons. More than one hundred and fifty other Indians, from among the principal ones, came to see us from farther up and farther down; and some came to see us from the [Colorado] river, because they had been informed that at this time I was to pass through this region. All were very affable, docile, and friendly people, the Cocomaricopas as well as those of the Rio Colorado; for although they are of a different language, there are always among them many Pimas and others who speak the Pima language very well. They brought us many of their eatables, and we spoke the Word of God both to the Pimas and, through an interpreter, to the Cocomaricopas of this place and from the Rio Colorado, all of whom were rejoiced to hear it.

CHAPTER VIII. WE DESCEND THE RIO GRANDE TO
THE WEST, AND AFTER A JOURNEY OF FIFTY
LEAGUES REACH THE YUMA NATION,
DISCOVER FOUR NEW NATIONS, AND
SIGHT THE CALIFORNIAS ⁸⁴⁷

3. On October 3, day of Nuestra Señora del Rosario, we set out for the west accompanied by many of the people who had come to see us. There was also the

⁸⁴⁷ It is not easy to identify all the villages named in this journey down stream with those named in the journey up stream a year earlier. See pages 193-199.

governor of El Tutto, who knew very well both the Pima and the Cocomaricopa languages, and the alcalde of San Felipe y Santiago del Oyadaybuisé, who from the east and up the river had brought me the notice which the captain of La Encarnación had sent me to the effect that his people had dealt a blow to the Apaches. After a journey of six leagues over very good road we arrived at the ranchería called Guoydag, of more than two hundred persons, many of whom were from the Rio Colorado. During today's march the boys kept throwing great quantities of grass to the mules and horses, delighted that they ate it and did not eat boys, as they had been made to believe was the case the year before, when we entered in February, being then very much afraid of us and fleeing from us, but now having lost that fear entirely. In the afternoon, after going seven leagues more, we reached the ranchería of San Mateo del Batki,³⁴⁸ where they received us with divers of their dishes and with fish.

4. On the fourth they gave us an infant to baptize. We set out for San Matías del Tutumagoydag,³⁴⁹ and, after a journey of thirteen leagues, arrived an hour before sunset, having passed by three rancherías in which there must have been about seven hundred persons, including many families from the Rio Colorado, all of whom showed us great kindness. In San Matías they received us with all friendliness. We gave some presents to the guides and interpreters, who went no further with us, because thereafter we would be entering the Yuma nation, with whom they were on unfriendly terms, because of some murders which had taken place

³⁴⁸ This seems to be the San Tadeo de Vaqui visited February 26, 1699. See Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 79.

³⁴⁹ This is the San Matías Tutum mentioned in Manje's diary of 1699 as the first village above San Pedro.

during the preceding months. But when we told them that in future they should come in peace, they accepted our counsels and requested us that among the Yumas also we should become mediators of very firm peace-agreements, as we did.

5. On the fifth, having talked the night before till almost midnight about the Word of God, and having charged them to carry it on to the Rio Colorado, and they having given us an infant to baptize, we set out for the Yumas, always to the west and down the Rio Grande (or Rio de los Santos Apóstoles); and having traveled about fifteen leagues over good but uninhabited road, we arrived at a good place which we named La Sienega de los Patos, or Laguna de los Ansares, for there were great numbers of ducks and geese. We saw various rancherías which had been deserted during the preceding months.

6. On the sixth, setting out from La Cienega de los Patos, after twelve leagues of very level road we met the first Yumas, of San Pedro and of San Pablo. We had penetrated to this point when they gave us the first blue shells in February of the year before. They received us very affectionately, even giving the dog which was with us water and *pinole* in a little basket, with all kindness, as if he were a person, wondering that he was so tame and faithful, a thing never before seen by them. In this respect they were like the Californians when we went to see them the first time fifteen years before.

In three other respects we afterward found, during these days, these natives and their country are like the Californians: first, in the dress of the men and women; second, in that the men cut their hair in one way and the boys in another; third, in that here there are various trees native to California, such as the incense tree and the tree bearing the fruit which they called *medessé*.

In the afternoon we set out toward the north, now with Yuma guides. Here the river runs about eight leagues to the north and afterward turns again to the west. On the way they gave us great quantities of fish, both raw and cooked; for, although they had their little fields of maize, beans, calabashes, and watermelons, the beans and maize were not yet ripe. We spent the night at a very good stopping-place, which we called Camp of Las Sandías, for there were watermelons in a very rich sandy beach at the foot of a hill, from the top of which California is plainly visible; and this day was the day of San Bruno, patron of California.

7. On the seventh, setting out down stream, after going four leagues we halted near a ranchería, which, however, was on the other side of the river; and while I despatched some friendly messages to the rancherías round about, with the governor, the alcalde, and my major-domo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, and the four best pack-mules that we had, I ascended a hill to the westward, where we thought we should be able to see the Sea of California; but looking and sighting toward the south, the west, and the southwest, both with a long range telescope and without, we saw more than thirty leagues of level country, without any sea, and the junction of the Rio Colorado with this Rio Grande (or Rio de Hila, or Rio de los Apóstoles), and their many groves and plains. We afterwards learned that in those lands and their vicinity lived four new nations, of friendly and industrious Indians, the Quiquima, Bagiopa, Hoabonomas, and Cutganas. Returning to our stopping-place we ate, adding some sweetmeats for joy that now, thank the Lord, we had seen the lands pertaining to California, without any sea between and separating those lands from it. Because our Pima guides, the captain and the governor of El Comac, the son of

the captain of San Raphael, and the captain of Actum, named Miguel, were becoming weary, and because the time for collecting the alms of cattle which the fathers of these missions of Sonora were giving for California were pressing upon me, I determined to return to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores.

CHAPTER IX. HAVING SEEN THAT THE GULF OF CALIFORNIA DID NOT EXTEND TO THIRTY-FIVE DEGREES, WHEN WE SET OUT ON THE RETURN TO NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS DOLORES THE MANY NATIVES FROM FARTHER ALONG CALL US AND CAUSE US TO RETURN, AND WE GO ON TO THE LARGE RIO COLORADO

When, this same day, October 7, about four in the afternoon, we were setting out from the stopping-place to spend the night at the Camp of Las Sandías, I was overtaken by the governor of these Yumas, to whom we had given the staff of office the year before, and who came from the junction of the rivers, saying to me that those natives were begging that I should go to see them. The relay was already setting out with my baggage and the vestments and paraphernalia for saying mass, and I let them go, remaining to speak very leisurely with this governor, who knew very well both the Pima and the Yuma languages, and having informed myself thoroughly that afternoon and part of the night in regard to the gulf of California, the surrounding new nations, and especially the large population of the great-volumed Rio Colorado near-by, it seemed to me a matter of conscience not to go to see those numerous natives.

8. On the eighth I arose very early and overtook my servants, and after saying mass at the camp of Las Sandías at dawn, and turning back to go to see these natives of the junction of the rivers, after a journey of

two leagues I met more than forty of them, who had come to overtake me, travelling all night, fearing that I might go without seeing them. They rejoiced greatly that I was now going to see them. As most of them were on the other side of this Rio Grande, I told them to go and notify them to cross to this side. But as they said that the people were numerous and all were asking that I should cross over there, they sought and found me a ford where this Rio Grande divides into three branches; and, crossing it, after eight leagues of very good road I arrived at the first Yumas of the very large volumed Rio Colorado, who came forth two leagues to receive us with many of their viands. Here were many of those who the previous year, 1699, had come out to see us at the post or *ranchería* of San Pedro, so named because of having said there the first mass which was said in this new nation, on the day of the Chair of Saint Peter, the twenty-second of February of the past year, when I entered with Father Adamo Gilg and Captain Juan Mateo Manje. The natives at once very lovingly asked us about his Reverence and his Grace, why they had not returned, etc., and we told them that they were in good health, and that perhaps some other time they would come here again.

On arriving at the great *ranchería* of the Rio Colorado, more than a thousand persons, assembled together, welcomed us; soon more than two hundred others came, and the following day more than three hundred, who came from the other side of this very large volumed Rio Colorado (which is the true and real Rio del Norte of the ancients) swimming across it. We made them many talks about our holy faith, which were very well received, and they thanked us for them with very ten-

der and loving words and talks, both in the Pima language and in the Yuma or Cocomaricopa, which are the same. These talks, ours and theirs, lasted almost the whole afternoon and afterward till midnight, with very great pleasure to all. They begged of me to stay with them, if only one or two days, saying that many people were coming from up the river where the Alchedomas live, and from down the river where the Quiquimas, Bagiopas, and Hoabonomas live. But I dared not linger, lest I fail in coming to collect the cattle for California, as I had been charged, and as the branding time was near at hand.

9. On the ninth, after mass, they gave me two sick adults to baptize. One was called Dionisio, because it was the day of this glorious, holy martyr; likewise, because the mass of this saint had been said here, the *ranchería* and very good post, close to the junction of the rivers, was called San Dionisio.

Most of the Indians who this morning came to see us, travelling nearly all the night, and swimming across the river, were of very lofty stature, and the principal one of them was of gigantic size and the largest Indian that we had ever seen. To him and two others we gave staffs of the office of justice. On taking our leave we comforted them, saying that we would try to return, as they so importuned and desired.

This very large volumed, populous, and fertile Colorado River, which without exception is the largest in all New Spain, is that which the ancient cosmographers by antonomasia called Rio del Norte. It very probably comes from Gran Quivira; and it is certain that by the fertile and pleasant lands of this great river one can penetrate to the Moquis, since it flows ten leagues west of those pueblos, and since the *ranchería* of San Dionisio, as I have found by measuring the height of

the sun with the astrolabe, is in thirty-five and one-half degrees of [north] latitude. Ascending this river, which comes almost uniformly from the northeast, another degree and a half, which in this latitude makes a journey of thirty-six leagues, one reaches thirty-six degrees,³⁵⁰ which is the latitude of the Moquis, missions pertaining to New Mexico; and there is probably no danger in this region that the Apaches would impede the entry.

CHAPTER X. WE TAKE LEAVE OF THE MANY
PEOPLE OF THE RIO COLORADO OR RIO DEL
NORTE, AND RETURN BY THE OTHER
ROUTE, THROUGH SAN MARZELO

This day, October 9, having set out from San Dionisio and the junction of the two rivers, we arrived in the afternoon at the camp of Las Sandías, where our relay was, and then passed on two leagues farther to a ranchería, where they gave us a great quantity of fish. We ascended another and higher hill, whence at sunset we plainly descried a large stretch of country in California and saw that the two rivers, below the confluence, ran united about ten leagues to the west, and then, turning southward, about twenty leagues farther on emptied into the head of the Sea of California.

10. On the tenth, leaving the Rio Grande and coming by the route by which we had entered in the month of February of the past year, we arrived in time to take our siesta at the tank of La Tinaja; and travelling in the afternoon about twelve leagues farther, we arrived an hour after nightfall at the watering-place which also the past year we had called El Agua Escondida, because it was among the rocks.³⁵¹

³⁵⁰ There is an obvious discrepancy here.

³⁵¹ Some writers have confused Kino's La Tinaja with modern Tinajas

11. On the eleventh, after dispatching most of the servants with the relay, that they might go on to take their siesta and wait for me wherever they should come across good pasturage for the pack-animals, I turned toward the west and ascended another hill, but I saw nothing more than the continuation of these lands with those of California, and the sands of the California sea. Overtaking the servants, and travelling today twelve leagues, we arrived before sunset at the tank of La Luna, for we had given it this name the year before because we had arrived there at night by moonlight. And because this watering-place is among some rocks so high that the pack-animals cannot ascend to drink water, we determined to eat a morsel of supper there and then travel, and we did travel, three hours more by night, in order to reach the watering-place of Carrizal with more ease the following day.

12. On the twelfth, arising more than two hours before dawn, and setting out from the stopping-place at the rising of the morning star, after thirteen leagues of very good roads we arrived at ten o'clock at the good

Atlas. Eldredge (*Beginnings of San Francisco*, vol. i, 60) speaks of Kino's Aguaje de la Luna and Agua Escondida as one and the same, though the diaries give them as twelve leagues apart. Agua Escondida was evidently modern Tinajas Altas. An excellent description of Tinajas Altas is given in *Report of the Boundary Commission* (Washington, 1898), part ii, 25. Aguaje de la Luna may have been Tinajas del Tule, a well-known tank on the Sonóita trail, although judged by distances given in the diaries it is too far west. (See *post*, pages 311-320). La Tinaja del Cerro de la Cabeza Prieta as located by Lumbholtz is out of the question, although Aguaje de la Luna might be the tank of that name as shown on the Boundary Commission map. Eldredge's assumption that Anza's Agua Escondida was Kino's Aguaje de la Luna seems untenable, the former probably being in the Sierra Pinta. The error may have arisen from placing Los Pozos de en Medio west of Gila Range, when all the diaries of the Anza expedition distinctly say that they were at the last camp before entering the pass (Tinajas Altas Pass). Richman (*op. cit.*, map) places Anza's Agua Escondida east of La Purificación, which is quite contrary to the explicit words of the diaries.

watering-place of El Carrizal, of the Arroyo de San Marcelo del Sonoydag. I said mass, we breakfasted, and after eating dinner we took a very good siesta; and after eight leagues' journey farther we arrived at eight o'clock at night at the ranchería and ranch of San Marcelo, having been given good refreshments by the people of another ranchería which was on the way and to whom we spoke the word of God. They gave us three sick adults to baptize, who were called Ygnacio, Francisco Xavier, and Francisco de Borja. The fiscal and principal personage of this ranchería came with us to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, almost one hundred leagues' journey.

The people of San Marcelo del Sonoydag, their governor, and many others, came out more than three leagues to meet us, with arches and crosses erected and with a house or arbor prepared, with plentiful supplies and meat, and wheat, maize, beans, and calabashes, for there are crops of all these for the father whom they are asking for and hoping to receive. We found here our people and servants with the relay which on the twentieth of the past month we had sent from La Concepcion del Cabotca, who had come fifty leagues to meet us at the summons which we had sent them from San Ambrosio del Busanic.

This post and ranchería of San Marcelo is the best there is on this coast. It has fertile land, with irrigation ditches for good crops, water which runs all the year, good pasture for cattle, and everything necessary for a good settlement, for it has very near here more than a thousand souls, and many more in its environs, while there is a notable lack of water on the rest of this coast, which extends fifty leagues south to La Concepcion del Cabotca, fifty leagues north to the Rio Grande,

fifty leagues east to the valley of San Xavier del Baac, and fifty or more leagues west to the confines of the Quiquimas and the mouth of the Rio Colorado.

13. On the thirteenth we rested at San Marzelo. We received a holy cross which the captain of La Encarnacion of the Rio Grande and Casa Grande sent me, with very kind messages, from a distance of more than seventy leagues. We catechized the people, and they gave us four sick adults and four infants to baptize. We counted the cattle, finding about fifty head, and killed one fat beef. The overseer of this ranch and the alcalde and the fiscal of this ranchería of San Marcelo made plans to go and did go with us to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores.

CHAPTER XI. SETTING OUT FROM SAN MARZELO,
AFTER A JOURNEY OF FIFTY LEAGUES WE AR-
RIVE AT NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LA CONCEPCION
DEL CABOTCA, AND AFTER FIFTY MORE
AT NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS DOLORES

OCTOBER 14, 1700. On the fourteenth of October, setting out for San Luys Bertrando de Bacapa, after a journey of six leagues there came out to meet us many natives with many of their viands and many very good *pitajayas*, which on this coast are abundant and last until December. After six leagues' journey farther we arrived at San Luys Bertrando, where we were welcomed by about one hundred and fifty persons, with many of their viands and *pitajayas*, and we spoke the Word of God to them all.

15. Having invited these people to come to the pueblos, the most arable pieces of land, and the rivers, to live, we set out for San Eduardo del Baipia, and after a journey of twenty leagues we arrived at night-fall; there received us, with crosses placed in the roads,

with a house or arbor and prepared viands, more than twelve hundred persons, who had assembled from the neighborhood, with many justices who had come from various places, among them the captain of La Concepcion del Cabotca and other governors and the foreman of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, who had come to meet us with some relay pack-horses and with bread and other refreshments.

16. On the sixteenth, after travelling sixteen leagues, we arrived at La Concepcion del Cabotca, where we were received with all kindness and with an abundance of provisions, for there were wheat, maize, large and small stock, about one hundred head of each sort, an earth-roofed adobe house, and a little church which the venerable Father Francisco Xavier Saeta had built. Of the many who came forth more than a league to meet us and receive us, one greeted us with these words: "Blessed and exalted be the most holy sacrament of the altar and the immaculate conception of most holy Mary," which among new people was a source of great pleasure and of some wonder to us.

17. On the seventeenth, having spoken to them the Word of God, and baptized infants which they gave us, including a son of the captain of this nation, we set out for El Tubutama which, after more than twenty leagues we reached that night by moonlight, having passed by the rancherías of San Diego del Pitquin and San Antonio del Uquitoa, where also there were wheat and maize for the father, and through that of El Adibuto. In El Tubutama there were more than two hundred persons, a little church and a house of adobe and earth, and at the ringing of their bell they recited the prayers and the Christian doctrine, as in the pueblos of Sonora. They had here about fifty head of cattle, about one hundred head of sheep and goats, and every

year they plant wheat, maize, and beans for the father whom they were hoping to receive.

18. On the eighteenth, after a seventeen leagues' journey, we arrived at the pueblo of San Ygnacio, having passed through that of Santa Maria Madalena, which, with the pueblo higher up, namely that of San Joseph de Hymeres, are in charge of Father Agustin de Campos; and although his Reverence was somewhat indisposed from tertian ague, he received us with all kindness.

19. On the nineteenth, passing through San Joseph de Hymeres and Babasaqui, after nine leagues' journey I arrived at my pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, where I found that they had just finished roofing two very good lodges with very good rafters and boards of pine. We rested here this afternoon.

20. On the twentieth we arrived, thanks to his divine Majesty, in safety at Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, having travelled in going and returning three hundred and eighty-four leagues in twenty-six days, without our pack-animals becoming weary and without any mishap, which we attributed to the celestial favors of our Lord, having happily caught sight of California and the passage to it by land, having solemnized forty-two baptisms, and discovered four other new nations and the great Rio Colorado, or Rio del Norte. And we reported this news to the lovers of new conversions as previously they had asked me to do.

CHAPTER XII. LETTERS WHICH THE FATHERS OF
THE COMPANY, AS WELL AS OTHERS, SECULAR
GENTLEMEN, WRITE ME, HAVING HEARD
THE NEWS OF THE ABOVE-RELATED
EXPEDITION AND DISCOVERY

THE FATHER VISITOR. The father visitor, Antonio Leal, on October 9 wrote me the following letter :

I am greatly rejoiced over the return of your Reverence from your journey, which the father rector, Juan Maria de Salvatierra, had written me to ask your Reverence about, because of the importance of the certainty of its being mainland. Very good news also is that of the Rio Colorado and of the other nations. *Operarii autem pauci*,³⁵² that is the pity of it. For God now offers so great a harvest in so great a field. May he recompense your Reverence for such toil in discovering so many sheep, redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ, but separated from His fold.

THE FATHER RECTOR OF THIS MISSION. The father rector of this mission of San Francisco Xavier, Adamo Gilg, writes thus :

A hearty welcome to your Reverence from your long apostolic excursion, which the father rector Juan Maria Salvatierra asked of us. It is now well established that the Sea of California does not reach to thirty-four degrees of latitude.

To the father rector of the College of Matape, Marcos Antonio Kappus, I sent, together with these reports, some of the blue shells which they had given me the year before, in February, on the Rio Colorado, and which caused me to infer that this land route must exist because I had seen shells of the same kind on the opposite coast in the year 1685, when in company with the Admiral Don Ysydro de Attondo y Antillon.³⁵³

THE FATHER RECTOR OF MATAPE. The father rector answered me thus :

I esteem the blue shells above my eyes, and especially the

³⁵² "But the laborers are few" (*Luke*, x, 2).

³⁵³ See the "Index."

large one, which truly is a rare piece. May your Reverence live a thousand years. Yesterday the father rector Juan Maria Salvatierra sent me four shells from the opposite coast, and these are neither more nor less than of the same sort and source.

THE SEÑOR MILITARY COMMANDER. The Señor military commander of this province of Sonora, Don Domingo Jironza Petris de Cruzatt, who always had strongly urged these expeditions in the service of God and the king, and for them had already in four other distinct letters given me thanks in the name of his royal Majesty, on this occasion also wrote me a very kind letter full of comfort and congratulations, etc.

GENERAL JUAN FERNANDEZ DE LA FUENTE. General Juan Fernandez de la Fuente, captain of the presidio of Janos and alcalde mayor of Casas Grandes, wrote me the following:

At a time when evil rumors were current, spread by some ill disposed persons (who for that reason are not credited, and who dream of revolts not intended, which often arise from our announcing them and talking about them, the natives having no such intention) with great rejoicing and appreciation on my part I just received the very much esteemed letter of your Reverence, by which I see all that has been done by your Reverence in the service of God and the king, which for me has certainly been most delightful news. Our very reverend fathers, Rector Juan Maria de Salvatierra and Francisco Maria Piccolo, and all the other pioneers, have greatly rejoiced, and I should be greatly delighted if your Reverence and I could see each other, that face to face and mouth to mouth we might confer upon all that might be to your pleasure and of service to God and the King, and to all. In all such matters as may arise, I shall subject myself, and sacrifice my life and estate, for in doing the service of God and the King and the common weal we may promise ourselves eternal salvation, which is all that we can desire.

Thus far General Juan Fernandez de la Fuente.

CHAPTER XIII. LETTER OF THE FATHER RECTOR
JUAN MARIA DE SALVATIERRA, TO WHOM IN
THE MONTHS PRECEDING I HAD WRITTEN
OF THE VERY GREAT PROBABILITY OF
THE LAND ROUTE TO CALIFORNIA

Two days after I had returned from the above-mentioned expedition to the Rio Colorado and the land route to California, I received a long letter from the father rector, Juan Maria de Salvatierra, dated Loreto Concho, California, August 25, of this year of 1700. In it his Reverence, among other things, writes to me the following:

I received here in Loreto, all at one time, the letters of your Reverence written in Matape and other places, and they were a great comfort to me. We have rejoiced to know the almost certainty that this land is a part of the continent and joins New Spain; and the only thing lacking is to know in what latitude this gulf ends, which we are all hoping your Reverence will write us after the rains, for next year, if they succor us, it will not be difficult to compass the one hundred leagues, even though they be one hundred and fifty, so as to meet. We are in great want, what with having had no supplies from Mexico in fourteen months, and altogether lacking in the matter of goods, chocolate, tobacco, etc., which can not be otherwise than the result of some other great disaster to a bark or barks. God's will be done in everything, for I hope the gates of hell will not prevail against the great little house of Loreto. And it has an important bearing upon the case to know the way by land to where this sea heads, so as to be able to secure aid overland in an emergency, such as may happen to us in case of complete destruction of the shipping, etc.

In regard to the gift of the cattle and their transportation to Hiaqui, again I express to your Reverence my appreciation of the abundant charity thereof, for your Reverence's part in it, and also for what you did with the other fathers. Accept, your Reverence, warm greetings from Father Francisco Maria Piccolo, and from all the people of this Loreto, who have rejoiced

in the hopes of the continental connection and who anxiously await the last news.

Thus far the Father Rector Juan Maria de Salvatierra, just after these reports had been obtained, and as I was actually writing to his Reverence, with the diary of all the above-mentioned expedition, which I sent to his Reverence in California. In view of its contents his Reverence came afterward in person from Nuestra Señora de Loreto, in California, to this mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores of this Pimeria, to make an expedition to the land passage to California, in the month of February of the following year, 1701, as is stated in Book II, following.

CHAPTER XIV. ABOUT SEVEN HUNDRED BEEVES
AND OTHER CATTLE ARE COLLECTED AND
HERDED IN THESE MISSIONS OF SONORA,
AND TAKEN TO MATAPE AND HYA-
QUI FOR CALIFORNIA

1700. On the occasion of Father Rector Juan Maria de Salvatierra's having come from California to Cinaloa and to Aome, in February and March of this year, 1700, for the cleaning, careening, and equipment of the ship *San Firmin*, the question came up of the gift of cattle which these missions of Sonora were to give to California; and afterward the greater part of these cattle were given at the most opportune time, which was in October and November, at branding time. And his Reverence wrote me from Cinaloa the two following letters, the first, of May 9, being of this tenor:

On Wednesday I shall take the road for Onabas, and if I am not prevented by my health, or some sudden call from Loreto, California, I shall go on to Matape on the twenty-second of this month. And because of the hope of happily seeing your Reverence there, I do not answer the points, so loving, of your letter,

which have caused my heart to swell. I have just received a letter from the father rector of Matape, in which he advises me that he has already received the ten loads of provisions which your Reverence sends for the missions of Nuestra Señora de Loreto, of California, for which I thank your Reverence, and which I esteem above my eyes. And I thank your Reverence for the three hundred beeves which you offer for California.

And on May 21, among other points in a long letter, his Reverence wrote me the following:

I thought to be able to reach Matape, but the heat of the sun, the development of an eye trouble by the natives, the sudden return of the launch from California, and the necessity of my presence, as well for the sake of the careening as of going on her, because the people on the other side are alone and numerous, the conjunction of these reasons has forced me to return from here. I greatly regret the ill-fortune of not having been able to see your Reverence. In reference to the three hundred beeves which your Reverence wishes to give to California, I am afraid that they will occasion want or damage in the missions of the Pimas, for, as I have heard, your Reverence is asking for new fathers to place in the Pimeria, and so for the present let me say that your Reverence may keep one hundred for the Pimeria, but the two hundred I need immediately for California, delivered in the port of Hyaqui, which the father provincial has assigned to me for cattle, and which is near Loreto Concho, of California, a Christendom in which we have set foot, which is already established, and which is being fostered, conserved, and advanced. It has cost sweat, and blood, and great treasure, and through the patronage of most holy Mary the gospel is being spread from sea to sea, the rancherías intervening being now subdued from coast to coast.

Thus far the father rector, Juan Maria de Salvatierra. In virtue of this letter, although some urged the difficulty of the heat, and others other occupations, I entered at once upon the work of transporting to Matape, Tecoripa, and Hyaqui, the two hundred cattle which this mission of Nuestra Señora de los [Dolores]

was giving to California; and I accompanied them, and in person helped them to Tuape in June.

Afterward, in November, on my return from my expedition at branding time, the other districts gave a goodly number of cattle; for I went to Matape, a fifty leagues' journey, to send them to the new ranch of Hyaqui, that from that ranch the fathers of California might obtain the meat, tallow, and lard that might be needed, sending the cattle alive to California, also, as might be needed and as occasion should demand. The district of Oposura gave one hundred, and a thousand head of sheep and goats, which were bought in Hyaqui in exchange for cattle. The district of Ures gave ten beeves more, and the district of Cucurpe one hundred; the district of Matape gave sixty, besides some horses; the district of Guepaca seventy, the district of Arispe fifty, and the other missions other numbers. And with this we ended the year 1700.

BOOK II. EXPEDITION OR MISSION WITH
THE FATHER RECTOR, JUAN MARIA DE
SALVATIERRA, TO THE HEAD OF THE SEA
OF CALIFORNIA, AT THIRTY-ONE DE-
GREES OF LATITUDE; HOSTILITIES OF
THE APACHES ON THESE FRONTIERS
OF SONORA. GOOD STATE OF THE
NEW CONVERSIONS OF THIS EX-
TENSIVE PIMERIA AND OF ITS
NEIGHBORING NATIONS

CHAPTER I. THE COMING OF THE FATHER RECTOR
JUAN MARIA DE SALVATIERRA FROM THE MISSION
OF NUESTRA SENORA DE LORETO, CALIFORNIA,
TO THESE MISSIONS OF HYAQUI, SONORA,
AND OF THIS PIMERIA, TO GO BY LAND
TO SAID CALIFORNIA

JANUARY AND FEBRUARY, 1701. The father rector, Juan Maria de Salvatierra, and I, having continually exchanged letters with a view to possible discoveries and to the advancement of these spiritual and temporal conquests and new conversions of California, and of its neighboring new lands and nations, and having made reports of those of this Pimeria here (which, like the missions, old and new, of Chinipas, of Cinaloa, and of Sonora, owe so much to the apostolic holy care of his Reverence, for he has been their most vigilant, very zealous, and indefatigable father visitor), he came in January and February of this year 1701, by sea, from California to these missions of Hyaqui and Sonora, and of this Pimeria, with firm and well founded hopes of

returning by land in latitude thirty-one or thirty-two degrees to his mission of Nuestra Señora de Loreto Concho, where his Reverence left as vice-rector Father Francisco Maria Picolo, and as commander and captain of the soldiers, Captain Antonio de Mendosa y Garzia, and the barks and crews in charge of their commanders for the careening and the voyages which might be necessary.

From Tecoripa and Matape and other places his Reverence had written me numerous different letters in regard to the things—provisions, pack-animals, and cattle—which we should need for this new expedition to the land passage to California, and perhaps to California itself, and far inland, or even to Loreto Concho. And, therefore, both here within this Pimeria and outside it, in the other neighboring missions, provision was made of all necessities in the way of servants, flour, biscuit, meat, pack-animals, etc. And lest there should be some resistance or difficulty in the passage by land to California, or in California itself, in descending from thirty-two degrees,³⁵⁴ where the above-mentioned passage is, to twenty-six degrees, where the mission of Nuestra Señora de Loreto Concho is situated, the father rector Juan Maria de Salvatierra determined to take some soldiers for the journey. To that end his Reverence went to the Real de San Juan to see the Señor military commander, Don Domingo Jyronza Petris de Cruzatt, and with ease he obtained from his lordship ten³⁵⁵ soldiers with their commander, while from the other citizens of the Real de San Juan and of the Valle de

³⁵⁴ See page 265, where he says thirty-one degrees. The figures 1, 2, and 4, in early Spanish manuscripts, are easily confused, a fact which may explain Kino's apparent inconsistency in his latitudes.

³⁵⁵ Manje (*Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 97) says that Salvatierra secured Manje, four soldiers, and eight citizens.

Sonora, and from the missionary fathers of the old missions, he acquired the necessary supply of good servants, muleteers, and pack and saddle mules. With that from without and from this Pimeria more than forty loads of provisions and other things necessary were collected, and were carried upon this expedition.

CHAPTER II. THE COMING OF THE HOSTILE APACHES TO THESE FRONTIERS OF SONORA, WITH SO MANY HOSTILITIES, ROBBERIES, AND MURDERS, THAT IT SEEMED THAT IT WAS GOING TO PREVENT OUR EXPEDITION TO THE LAND PASSAGE TO CALIFORNIA

At this same time, in January and February, the Apaches came in, for their accustomed annual robberies; and after stealing horses, etc., in various places, in the ranch of Cucurpe, very near here, they did the serious damage of which Father Melchor Bartyromo wrote me in the letter following, dated at Cucurpe, February 1:

1701. For lack of paper I did not write to your Reverence from Saracachi, where the enemy, more than two hundred Indians, made an attack on Sunday long after sunrise, killing six persons, and wounding seven, of whom three are in danger. They sacked all the houses except mine and the overseer's, where the other people were saved, and carried off horses and mares, we know not how many, and all the sheep and goats. I have sorrowed only for the death of so many innocents, not for the temporal matters. Commend us to the Lord, your Reverence, in your holy sacrifices, to which I commend myself. Cucurpe, Feb. 1.

P.S. Be on your guard, your Reverence, because it may be that the enemy are still lurking about here, for they were many.

P.S. Now, at dawn, February 2, day of the Virgin, German has come to inform me that they overtook the enemy and took the stolen horses away from them.

Thus far Father Bartyromo.

The great misfortune through these deaths so pitiful, greatly dismayed all the province, and it seemed that it was going to hinder our journey to the land passage to California. But the father rector, Juan Maria de Salvatierra, wrote me from Tuape the following letters, one of the tenth, the other of the fourteenth of February. The one of the tenth runs thus:

FEBRUARY 10 AND 14. When I was on the point of writing and dispatching a letter to your Reverence, Father Melchor told me he had received one from your Reverence containing the good news that Alférez Escalante had taken all the horses from the enemy, and so I detain the bearer a little while to give your Reverence congratulations for this victory. And, because your Reverence was occupied in giving mules and horses in honor of the Madonna of Loreto, and succor for her California mission, the Lady has looked upon all the benefactors. Long live Jesus! Long live Mary! I have received your Reverence's letter with the salutations of the beloved Pima children, to whom I beg your Reverence to return my greetings; for I will rejoice to embrace them. Tomorrow or the day after I go to Cucurpe, and, in order not to detain the bearer, I say no more.

The second letter, of the fourteenth, runs thus:

This war of Saracachi has done us a very ill turn. But there is no reason to lose courage. I suppose that your Reverence is very busy with the provisions, for the want of provisions alone can make us turn back, but I am resolved on the contrary, since from this knowledge of lands will come great good for the missions of Loreto Conchó. It will be necessary that all your Reverence's mules go from Los Dolores loaded; some ten or twelve loads of flour, some two loads of *pinole*, and two loads of biscuit. And it is necessary that all the tierces be of six *arrobas*, which, as they proceed, will be continually lessened. As to dried meat, perhaps it would be well to take a couple of loads, so as not to have to be troubled with having to kill as soon as one arrives at the places even where there are live animals to kill.

I am stopping here these two days, for thus I shall see to preparing the few beasts that I take, for, on ascending higher, it will be necessary to shut them up at night, and they will suffer much. And for my part, the reconnoissance of this land is of

such importance that if necessary I shall stop here until the rains, in the accomplishment of this purpose. And so for the love of God I beg your Reverence to provide supplies, for I am resolved on my part not to turn back for want of them; and therefore I pray your Reverence to advise me of all, and in particular of what your Reverence has already provided of the kinds above mentioned. I return the greetings of your Reverence's children, the Californians who come with me, fruits of the toils and zeal of your Reverence.

Thus far the father rector, Juan Maria de Salvatierra.

CHAPTER III. THESE HOSTILITIES OF THE APACHES
ARE ATTRIBUTED, ALTHOUGH VERY FALSELY,
TO THE PIMAS; AND THE INNOCENCE OF
THIS PIMERIA IS CLEARLY SHOWN
AND DECLARED

In regard to these above mentioned murders, robberies, and hostilities, there were so many controversies and such perverse and hostile opinions that the friendships of principal persons of this province were impaired and broken, many attributing those evils to the always hostile Hojomes, Janos, Sumas, and Apaches, while others perforce laid them upon the Pimas of this Pimeria, and attested reports, although false, were made. But our Lord made clear the truth in many ways, and forthwith the two following letters from those who pursued the enemy and took from them a great part of the booty which they carried, very clearly indicated it to me. One, dated February 13, is from Captain Pedro de Peralta, lieutenant of those frontiers, and is as follows:

My Father Eusebio Francisco Kino. Reward! Reward! Reward! The hostile Indians who attacked Saracachi, on their return passed by this Real de Bacanuchi and took from the corral of Simon Romo a drove of mares and other beasts. It was

reported to the presidio of Fronteras, and Alférez Escalante set out with fifteen men, while ten went from here. Near Chiguicahui they overtook thirty-six enemies, and recovered the animals from them; and they saw clearly and distinctly that they were Apaches. They recovered *tecomates*⁸⁵⁶ and other spoils which they had stolen in Saracachi. The enemy fled to the sierra and they could not be followed for lack of horses. Thus, they are not Pimas, as has been imagined; and so I do not lose my reward, but I would give it gladly for the great love I bear the Pimas. Yesterday, February 12, the soldiers arrived with the horses, very much pleased at having discovered that the murderers and robbers are Apaches and Hojomes, etc.

Thus far Captain Peralta. And Captain Christoval Granillo de Salazar, also on the thirteenth of February, from the Real de Bacanuchi wrote the following:

A matter of great rejoicing for me was the receipt of a letter from your Reverence, for I have very greatly desired to have news of the friendly Pimas, because of the great confusion in which the rumors have kept us, and which are no sooner believed than they are circumstantially disproved. Now our Lord hath willed that the identity of those who attacked Saracachi should be known. Yesterday, the twelfth instant, arrived my brother Simon and the soldiers who went in pursuit of them, with the Señor Alférez Juan de Escalante, who overtook them in the little sierra beyond San Joseph, about twelve leagues from Chiguicahui, where they recovered the horses which were taken from this valley. By their dress and their arms all the soldiers recognized them to be Apaches, and they saw them about an arquebus-shot away. They could not kill them, because they lacked animals, and because the country was bad. I do not ask reward because my godfather, Captain Peralta, has already asked it, but I shall not lose it.

Thus far Captain Christoval Granillo de Salazar.

Another event, although sad in a way, clearly revealed the innocence of this Pimeria. Because, on the eighteenth of February, notice having come that here, near the peak of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, in a

⁸⁵⁶ Gourd vessels.

deep and very rough valley, the enemy had stolen and secreted many horses, some Indians from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores and some from Nuestra Señora de los Remedios set out to see to taking them away, and the governor of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios with two of his men, and the foreman of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, with others of his men, fought to the death. And the Father Visitor Antonio Leal wrote me the letter following:

I give your Reverence warm condolence, entwined with hearty congratulations, for the death of the Pima children, for with their blood and with their lives well they have manifested to all the world that the malevolent and the malefactors are not the Pimas nor the Pimeria.

The same was said and written by various other persons, that is, that since the Pimas gave their lives to resist the robberies, the Pimas were not the ones who committed them, nor friends of such evils.

CHAPTER IV. THE FATHER RECTOR, JUAN MARIA DE SALVATIERRA, COMES TO THIS MISSION OR PUEBLO OF NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS DOLORES, AND WE UNDERTAKE THE EXPEDITION TO THE PASSAGE BY LAND TO CALIFORNIA. HIS REVERENCE SETS OUT WESTWARD FOR SAN YGNACIO AND AFTER A JOURNEY OF FIFTY LEAGUES ARRIVES AT NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LA CONCEPCION ³⁵⁷

About the twentieth of February Father Juan Maria Salvatierra with ten soldiers and his native Californians, etc., arrived from Cucurpe at this district of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. We talked with pleasure of everything concerning the expedition to this land

³⁵⁷ For Salvatierra's journey with Kino, see Manje, *op. cit.*, 96-110; Salvatierra to Arteaga, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, Cuarta Série, tomo v, 126-154; Salvatierra to González in Venegas *Noticia*, vol. ii, 101-102.

passage to California, especially on account of the blue shells, because in these days the father rector of Matape had written me the following letter:

Very greatly has the father rector, Juan de Salvatierra, rejoiced to see the blue shells, in particular the large one with which your Reverence favored me, and the two balls and the belt; ³⁵⁸ and his Reverence no longer doubts that this land has continental connection with that of California.

Having arranged that this district of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores should give for the journey to the passage twenty loads of provisions—flour, dried meat, biscuit, etc.—and eighty sumpters, most of them mules, the father rector, Juan Maria Salvatierra, on the twenty-fifth of February set out westward from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores for the pueblo of San Ygnacio, with two soldiers, for he had made the rest return to Saracachi, on account of a rumor of enemies that arose. ³⁵⁹ His Reverence carried from here for the journey the picture of Our Lady of Loreto, well painted by the hand of Juan Correa, which was a great comfort to us in all the journey. We placed her upon the altar when we said mass, the fathers taking charge of her personally, the one in the morning and the other in the afternoon.

³⁵⁸ *Texido de la faja.*

³⁵⁹ Manje was sent with the military escort from the Real de San Juan Bautista, capital of the province. Setting out on February 16, with eight citizens, he went to Cucurpe, where he joined Father Salvatierra, who was preparing supplies given for the journey by Father Melchor Bartiromo. The departure for Dolores was delayed by an attack of three hundred Apaches on Zaracachi, whence they stole two hundred animals. Manje set out on the trail and found that the Apaches had killed five Pimas near Los Remedios. Escalante also set out, from the presidio, with twenty soldiers, calling the Pimas to aid, but failed to overtake the enemy. At Dolores, Manje was joined by Ayudante Nicolás de Bohorqués and three soldiers, making twelve men in the escort, besides Manje. Manje's account conflicts slightly with this one (Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 97-98). See also Salvatierra's account, *op. cit.*, 129-134.

At San Ygnacio, which is ten leagues from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, and where Father Agustin de Campos was, the Father Rector Juan Maria de Salvatierra provided himself with some supplies, and with some more pack-animals; and as I, with the solicitude in which the enemy kept us, was detained a little longer, his Reverence wrote me the letter following on the twenty-sixth of February:

What with the many gifts which your Reverence has made me, I was able to come but slowly to this district of San Ygnacio. May God recompense your Reverence for the great charity which you dispense even to one who so little merits it. Arrived here, I received the packet which your Reverence despatched to me; and news now comes that shortly a new viceroy and archbishop will arrive. It has troubled me to know that the enemy untied a horse at Tuape; and the poor Father Melchor ³⁶⁰ would suppose that the soldiers were at Los Dolores, while it was impossible that the two soldiers should arrive tonight at Tuape. God grant that it be not a serious affair; yet if it be so, your Reverence has the matter before you, and at all events, whatever your Reverence may decide will be the best considered, you being so experienced and old.

Thus far Father Juan Maria. In view of this letter I determined to cast a glance at my three pueblos and order them fortified, on account of such dangers of enemies as existed. Meanwhile the eight soldiers returned from Saracachi to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores with their leader, Nicholas Bohorgues, and with Captain Juan Mateo Manje, nephew of the Señor governor of arms, who two days afterward went to overtake the Father Rector Juan Maria de Salvatierra at San Ygnacio.³⁶¹ From there his Reverence continued his

³⁶⁰ Father Melchor Bartíromo, of Cucurpe.

³⁶¹ Manje overtook Salvatierra at San Ignacio, and accompanied him to Caborca, where Kino overtook them. An account of the journey of Salvatierra and Manje is given by Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incognita*, libro ii, 98-99. See also Salvatierra's account, *op. cit.*, 136-139. On the twenty-eighth they

westward route toward the sea of California, and toward La Concepcion de Nuestra Señora del Cabotca, through Tubutama, Addi, San Antonio del Uquitoa, and San Diego del Pitquin, where his Reverence with his great charity and holy zeal solemnized twenty-six baptisms of sick persons and infants that the natives gave him; and after about fifty leagues' journey from Los Dolores he arrived with his people and with the forty loads of provisions at La Concepcion safely and quickly.

CHAPTER V. MY DEPARTURE FROM NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS DOLORES, TO OVERTAKE FATHER RECTOR JUAN MARIA DE SALVATIERRA, DRAWN FROM THE DIARY OF THIS JOURNEY TO THE LAND PASSAGE TO CALIFORNIA

MARCH 1, 1701. On March 1, 1701, I set out from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores in a northerly direction with nine servants and one servant of the Señor military commander, and went to cast a glance at my other two pueblos of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios and Cocospora, because they were frontiers to the enemy, to provide for their defence by means of some towers³⁶² and an expedition of Pimas to the eastern lands through which the hostile Hojomes³⁶³ and Apaches are accustomed to travel and to penetrate.

2. On March 2, having given ashes at Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, I went on to give them in the pueblo of Cocospera, where I found two captains of this Pimeria, one named El Coro and the other named El Tarabilla,³⁶⁴ who had just spied the enemy. They

set out, passing Magdalena, Tubutama, Ati, Uquitoa, and Pitquin, reaching Caborca on March 6 (Manje, *op. cit.*, 98-99).

³⁶² *Toriones.*

³⁶³ *Jocomes.*

³⁶⁴ "The Prattler."

reported that they had seen their smokes, and that they were not more than two days' journey away from the Pimeria, to the eastward. They offered to go soon with a goodly number of Pimas of this immediate district and of the Sobayporis of the north to fight against the said hostile Hojomes and Apaches, and for this purpose I ordered provisions of meat, maize, and wheat given to them and to the soldiers, four of whom had come to Cocospera, leaving thirteen others in Bacanuchi; and these Pimas afterwards had the good fortune which I shall relate at the end of this diary.

3. On the third the four soldiers, having confessed, set out for Bacanuchi to join the other thirteen again; and I set out for the west and for Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion del Cabotca, following the father rector, Juan Maria de Salvatierra; and after fifteen leagues' journey I arrived after nightfall at the ranch of San Simon y San Judas del Siboda.³⁸⁵

4. On the fourth they gave me three infants to baptize; I provided myself with twenty other good pack-animals; seven droves of mares were branded; and I left orders for branding immediately afterwards the thousand head of cattle contained in this ranch, which I have dedicated to the aid of the new conversions which may be founded.

5. On the fifth, after a thirteen leagues' journey, I arrived near the ranchería named Aquimuri.

6. On the sixth, after going three leagues I arrived in time to say mass at San Ambrosio del Busanic, where I found more than five hundred persons who had assembled, and after mass they gave me five infants and a sick adult to baptize. We learned that Father Rector Juan Maria had passed through the neighboring

³⁸⁵ This is the first diary of an expedition by precisely this route.

pueblo of Tubutama. We killed one beef of the more than eighty which they were tending for me here, with four droves of mares; and as there was also wheat and maize here belonging to the Church, they had ground and provided for us four loads of flour for our journey.

7. On the seventh we set out for the pueblo of El Tubutama and for the ranchería of Addi, where we arrived after a fourteen leagues' journey. After the first three leagues, at El Saric, they gave me six infants to baptize, one afterwards on the journey at the ranch of El Tubutama, and one in El Saric³⁶⁶ also, where they were tending for me of eighty head of small stock, wheat, maize, and beans, and where also they had provided for us some loads of flour for our journey.

8. On the eighth I set out from Addi, and, passing through the ranchería of San Antonio del Uquitoa, and through the incipient pueblo of San Diego del Pitquin, after an eighteen leagues' journey I arrived at nightfall at Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion del Cabotca, where, with the very great charity of Father Rector Juan Maria, I was received at the door of the little church, with the picture of Our Lady of Loreto on the altar, and by the soldiers, and by more than four hundred Indians placed in a line, very much as in the old Christian pueblos.

³⁶⁶ El Saric is apparently a mis-copy for Addii.

CHAPTER VI. HAVING PERFORMED THIRTY-THREE SOLEMN BAPTISMS AT LA CONCEPCION, AFTER GOING FIFTY LEAGUES ALONG THE COAST OF THE SEA OF CALIFORNIA WE ARRIVED AT THE RANCHERIA AND RANCH OF SAN MARZELO DEL SONOYDAG

MARCH 9, 1701. On the ninth of March, here at Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion del Cabotca, Father Juan Maria de Salvatierra and I solemnly baptized thirty infants and three sick adults, whom for this purpose the very friendly natives of this very large new pueblo gave us.³⁶⁷ During these three days we killed three fat beeves and three sheep of the very fat large and small stock which they were tending for me here. They were taking care for me also of a good field of wheat, and they had already cleared another piece of ground to plant maize for the church and for the father whom they were waiting for and desired to receive. In the afternoon the packtrain set out with forty loads of provisions and supplies. At nightfall came four Indians sent by the captain of San Rafael del Actun, by which we had to pass; and although it was forty leagues away, they came to meet and receive us with very friendly messages from the natives there.

10. On the tenth we set out along the coast toward the northwest, or between north and west, for San Eduardo del Baypia,³⁶⁸ carrying with us the picture of Our Lady of Loreto; and, overtaking the pack-train,

³⁶⁷ Father Barrillas, now old, had ceased to live permanently at Caborca, but visited it from time to time (Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 98-99).

³⁶⁸ Anza in 1774 called the place "Baipia or Aribaipia, which the Indians indifferently call it, and which in our language means little wells" (*Diario*, entry for Jan. 23). Garcés on the same day noted within a league of the place three rancherías, the largest of which was Cuboitac (*Diario*). See also Lumholtz (*New Trails in Mexico*, 149-173) who went over the same old trail in 1909, and gave a good description of Arivaipia.

we arrived at sunset, being welcomed very kindly by more than three hundred Indians.

11. On the eleventh we all set out together with the pack-train for San Luys Bertrando del Bacapa, and after traversing seventeen leagues of very level and pleasant road we arrived very late at night at a rather small water-hole and *batequi*, or small well. Various parts of this road were made so pleasant and beautiful by virtue of roses and flowers of different colors, that it seemed as if Nature had placed them there for the reception of Our Lady of Loreto.³⁶⁹ Almost all day we were praying and chanting various prayers and praises of Our Lady in different languages—in Castilian, in Latin, in Italian, and also in the Californian language; for the six natives of California, four large and two small, whom the Father Rector Juan Maria had brought with him, were so well indoctrinated and instructed in everything that they sang the prayers, since the father rector had already arranged them for them in pretty couplets, in this Californian language; and we said with the Holy Psalmist, *Cantabiles mihi erant justificaciones tuas in coro peregrinaciones meæ*.³⁷⁰

12. On the twelfth, after a five leagues'³⁷¹ journey, we arrived at San Luys Bertrando del Bacapa, where

³⁶⁹ Manje gives a very different impression of this day's journey. He gives the distance as fourteen leagues and says they spent the night without water, "as a result of which the animals were already beside themselves for thirst, for not since the morning of the day before had they drunk scarcely anything, for which reason nine fled from us that night, and there is no doubt that this was a day of the greatest difficulty, care, and affliction" (Manje, *op. cit.*, 100). He wrote, it is true, that next morning they found near by a well called *Sauracan* from which they scooped up handfuls of water for the perishing animals. Salvatierra gives other details, *op. cit.*, 140-141.

³⁷⁰ "Thy justifications were the subject of my song in the place of my pilgrimage" (*Psalm*, cxviii, 54).

³⁷¹ Manje says six leagues. Citing Herrera, *Decada 4^a*, he opines that Bacapa was passed through by Coronado's army (Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 101). He says that the distance of forty leagues from the sea corresponds with that given by Herrera.

there is very good water and good pasturage, and the very loyal natives of these environs brought us the ten pack-animals⁸⁷² which the night before had run away from us and been lost.

13. On the thirteenth the father rector, Juan Maria, preached in Castilian to the soldiers, and in the Pima language to the Pima natives. He went in person to the wood near-by to cut with an ax a large tree with which we set up a holy cross, the natives aiding us. We sent ahead word to San Marcelo to give notice of our coming, and back to bring the loads which yesterday had remained behind.

14. On the fourteenth, setting out from San Luys Bertrando del Bacapa, after a twelve³⁷³ leagues' journey we came before sunset to San Marcelo del Sonoydag, having taken our *siesta* near a good watering-place.

The natives of San Marcelo came out a league to meet us with a holy cross which they gave to the father rector, receiving us with arches and crosses erected on the roads, which they had cleared neatly, and with an arbor prepared, and giving us an account not only of the cattle here but also of the messages which some months before I had sent to the Quiquimas and other Indians at the mouth of the Rio Colorado and the passage to California, and of the friendly responses which they sent, expressing the desire that we should come to see them. Here at San Marcelo we found about two hundred persons including various justices, governors,

⁸⁷² Manje says that at Bacapa there were six permanent springs. The village contained eighty naked persons. The site was modern Quitovac. Anza writes, "It is one of the best of the Papagueria through having five springs of water. . . This Quitovac the Jesuit Fathers called San Luis de Bacapa, of which addition the inhabitants have no memory . . . but they do preserve the name of San Luis" (*Diario*, Jan. 26, 1774). Garcés went through the place in 1771, and was with Anza in 1774. See also Salvatierra, *op. cit.*, 142-143, and Lumholtz, *op. cit.*, 170.

³⁷³ Manje gives the distance as fifteen leagues.

and captains who had come to see us from different and even remote places; and to all of them was preached the Word of God, which was well received.³⁷⁴

15. On the fifteenth we rested in this good post of San Marcelo, which has very good and abundant pasturage and water running in the little river, than which there is no other within fifty leagues around. The cattle, which consisted of sixty-three head,³⁷⁵ were rounded up; and we killed two beeves, which were very fat with much tallow and suet, and it was a great relief to all and a great comfort to the father rector that in a country so far inland we should find this refreshment. We received letters from San Ygnacio, Matape, Hyacui, and in particular from Father Juan de Hugarte, who had just come from Mexico to go, as he did go, to California. His Reverence wrote that in an ancient itinerary which he was carrying with him, it was said that in these parts where we were penetrating, very populous and very rich missions could be formed, which afterwards could aid in maintaining other missions, less prosperous, in California.

CHAPTER VII. SETTING OUT FROM SAN MARCELO
DEL SONOYDAG TO THE WESTWARD, AFTER A
JOURNEY OF THIRTY-FIVE LEAGUES WE ARRIVE
AT THE HEAD OF THE SEA OF CALIFORNIA
IN THIRTY-ONE DEGREES LATITUDE

MARCH 16, 1701. On the sixteenth of March, 1701, we set out westward for the Sea of California, following the little river of San Marcelo; and after travelling eight³⁷⁶ leagues we arrived and halted at a canebrake

³⁷⁴ Manje tells of the rich soil here, and the fields of crops all under irrigation from the good arroyo and many springs.

³⁷⁵ Manje says eighty head. While resting here messengers were sent to the villages living nearer the sea, to get guides to show them the water holes.

³⁷⁶ Manje says ten leagues. The place where they stopped was called Comaquidan. From this point messengers were sent to the Indians living north of the Colorado (Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 102).

with very good pasturage, water, and wood. As our convoys and guides went the alcalde of San Marcelo and a governor who knew very well the two languages, Pima and Quiquima, and who the year before, being sick, had been baptized by the name of Eusebio.

17. On the seventeenth we rested in this good stopping-place of El Carrizal,³⁷⁷ waiting together for the two fiscals from the sea whom we had summoned through the alcalde of San Marzelo,³⁷⁸ to come as our guides in our expedition to the Quiquimas of California, for one of them had already gone in the preceding months with my message and some little gifts which I had sent him from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores.

18. On the eighteenth, these fiscals and guides having come with many people from the sea, and having given us the very good news that the Quiquimas were waiting for us anxiously and lovingly, and advising us that this more direct and shorter road to the westward was so sandy that the sumpters would travel with difficulty and be very poorly supplied with water and pasturage, it became doubtful whether we should make our journey of about sixty leagues by the west, or go up to the northwest, circling the very great sandy waste at the head of the Sea of California, and ascending to the Rio Grande and Rio Colorado by the circuit by which I had already come in other times in the preceding years, as has been told. It was determined that we should travel by the shortest road, and that leading most directly westward; and after a thirteen leagues' journey we came to the ranchería called Sucoybutobabbia, where there were about two hundred souls.³⁷⁹ When

³⁷⁷ Carrizal, the name of this place. Salvatierra calls it La Anunciata.

³⁷⁸ Manje says they waited to give the messengers, mentioned above, time.

³⁷⁹ Manje says that he opposed the decision to take this route but yielded

we had spoken to them the Word of God they gave us several persons to baptize, but we baptized only one little girl and a very old Indian woman who was probably about one hundred and twenty years of age. The water supply here as well as the pasturage was very short, and it cost us much toil, and the personal labor of both fathers, to deepen the wells to obtain the water that the men and we might drink. After nightfall about forty Indians from the sea came to see us and told us that about here there was nothing but two large tanks of rain-water shut in between the rocks of the large mountain near-by and the ancient volcano of Santa Clara.³⁸⁰

19. On the nineteenth we set out for the ranchería and watering-place, or great tank, of El Basoitutgan,³⁸¹ where there was good pasture also. We found about one hundred persons, and afterwards many other natives came, some with gifts; and we dispatched some little gifts to the Quiquimas.

20. On the twentieth, Palm Sunday, having said the two masses, with the benediction and distribution of branches (for in honor of this day and yesterday, when we arrived, we called this post San Joseph de Ramos),³⁸² we set out for the west; and after covering six

to the opinion of the Fathers. He gives the direction as southwest over stony plains, and the distance as ten leagues. They camped in the bed of a dry arroyo called *Sicobuto bavia* (Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 102).

³⁸⁰ The Santa Clara Mountain was the present Sierra del Pinacate. In 1909-1910 Lumholtz made three trips from Quitovaquita and Carrizal to the district, over almost precisely the three routes opened by Kino, whose explorations in that region were unfortunately unknown to him. Most of the places mentioned by Kino can be identified by Lumholtz's excellent descriptions and map (*op. cit.*, chaps. 13-14).

³⁸¹ Manje gives this as Basotucan and gives the distance as eight leagues. The water was in two tanks where the horses drank, after twenty-four hours without it. The village was south of the Santa Clara mountain. Manje gives the number as fifty persons. See Tinaja del Cuervo, on Lumholtz's map. Salvatierra calls this place Ayodsudao, and the previous one Totonat.

³⁸² Ramos means "palms" or "branches." Domingo de Ramos is Palm Sunday.

leagues of road, although level, and along weathered rocks like slag³⁸³ which long ago had been thrown out by this mountain or volcano of Santa Clara, which we passed on our right or to the north, we arrived at another tank of water shut in between rocks, with very little pasturage; and ascending with Captain Juan Mateo Manje to a neighboring little hill, we descried California very plainly, to the west and southwest, and afterwards the soldiers also and all the men sighted it.³⁸⁴

21. On the twenty-first we went westward eight leagues farther, leaving half the men and the loads in this camp. We traveled almost all this day along very sandy country and through very great sand-dunes, in which our pack-animals traveled with difficulty. The water supply which we found was three little springs of somewhat brackish water.³⁸⁵ Almost all of us went down on foot to the very beach of the sea, which was little more than half a league away, whence the sailors, especially, carried away a great quantity of all kinds of pretty shells and snails. Afterwards the father rector summoned the muleteers, with the loads and the horses

³⁸³ *Temesquitate*. See Salvatierra's vivid description, *op. cit.*, 146.

³⁸⁴ Manje describes the journey as eight leagues over "*mal Pais y Arca-bucos y Zeborucos*." They camped at El Tupo near a tank of rain water with the Santa Clara Mountain behind them. Manje describes the *temesquitate* of the last two days' march. He describes the volcanic features of the Santa Clara Mountain and tells of its ascent by Kino on a former occasion. It was nine leagues from the sea. See Tinaja de los Chivos on Lumholtz's map. See also Lumholtz, *op. cit.*, 205, 228. Salvatierra calls this place Aibacusi and the next Duburcopota (*op. cit.*, 146-149).

³⁸⁵ Manje gives the name of these springs as Cubo quasi vavia. They were two leagues from the sea on the flats. Manje says they were in latitude 32° and where the shore ran northwest, without any bay, although the maps called for the Bay of Santa Clara. Where they were the Gulf seemed about twelve leagues across, and it appeared to be about thirty-six leagues to the place where the Gulf seemed to head. The missionaries concluded that this was the fact but Manje was not convinced, and says "we had a friendly dispute." Manje and Kino planned to try to cover the distance to the Colorado in a day and a night, but they found it impossible for lack of water for the horses, and were forced to return, leaving nine horses on the beach (Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 105).

which had stayed at the preceding camp, because with the three springs in this stopping-place there was sufficient good pasturage. But the following day we found that the waters of these three little springs had not welled up in so great a quantity as we had expected, although the necessary water did not fail us.

CHAPTER VIII. ON ACCOUNT OF FINDING A SAND-DUNE MORE THAN SIXTY LEAGUES AROUND, SITUATED AT THE HEAD OF THE SEA OF CALIFORNIA, AND BECAUSE OUR PACK-ANIMALS WERE GROWING TIRED, WE RETURNED, HAVING TWICE SIGHTED CALIFORNIA

MARCH 22, 1701. On the twenty-second at midday I took the altitude of the sun with the astrolabe and found that this gulf of California ended in thirty-one³⁸⁶ degrees latitude. Already, by other journeys I have found that this Californian Gulf has at its head to the northward a stretch of sand-dunes so large that it is more than sixty leagues around, and it now became a hindrance to our passing farther by this route, although today, about two in the afternoon, our men and pack-train arrived with the loads from the preceding camp. This had been so without water that on the return it was necessary for us to travel until midnight to reach the camp of San Joseph de Ramos, and many of our pack-animals were tired out, while some loads remained on the road.

23. On the twenty-third we rested³⁸⁷ while those loads were coming on.

³⁸⁶ Manje says that Santa Clara Mountain was near 32°

³⁸⁷ Kino and Manje differ here. Manje says they set out on the twenty-third and traveled all day and part of the night of the twenty-third to reach San Joseph de Ramos, eighteen leagues. Manje says they rested only on the twenty-fourth, instead of on the twenty-third and twenty-fourth, as Kino says (Manje, 106). From here Father Salvatierra sent a letter to Picolo overland by Indians but it never reached him.

24. On the twenty-fourth, Holy Thursday, mass was said, and many natives of these environs came to see us, and also two governors from far inland whither I had penetrated the year before, who begged us to go in to their lands; but as our sumpters were already very much fatigued, we told them to come with us to San Marzelo, where we were going to rest for a week. These governors gave us even more detailed accounts of how in the preceding months my messages and gifts had penetrated to the Quiquimas, and how they were waiting for us with very friendly anxiety.

25. On the twenty-fifth, Good Friday and the Day of the Incarnation of our Lord, we came to El Carrizal³⁸⁸ near San Marzelo. Our pack-animals had become very tired on this road, but they were reinvigorated, however, with the good pasturage of this post. Many natives from various parts came to see us.

26. On the twenty-sixth we rested in this good camp. I took the altitude of the sun with the astrolabe and found that we were in thirty-one degrees and ten minutes. We made an arbor in which to celebrate Easter.³⁸⁹

27. On the twenty-seventh, Easter, the soldiers and the other people confessed and received communion, and the father rector preached to them. We made a little sketch of this extremity of the sea of California.

28. We sent to the ranch of San Marzelo for a beef and fresh meat, which came the following day.

29. On the twenty-ninth many Indians of the east came to see us, and six of them agreed to go, and did go, with us on another new little journey to the westward, which the father rector and Captain Juan Mateo

³⁸⁸ The canebrake, *ante*, page 281.

³⁸⁹ At Carrizal they awaited the pack train, which reached there two days behind, arriving on the twenty-seventh.

Manje and I made quickly with four servants from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, in latitude thirty-one degrees and thirty-five minutes, to see whether by this route we might find an entry and a passage to the Quiquimas and quite beyond them and round the head of the sea of California.³⁹⁰

30. On the thirtieth we awaited our news from the west, which, however, did not come.

31. On the thirty-first the father rector, Captain Juan Mateo Manje, and I set out to the westward with the six Pima guides from the east, and with eighteen mules and three horses with six light loads. After traversing thirteen³⁹¹ leagues of level road we arrived an hour before sunset at the stopping-place and water-hole which they called Pitaqui, and which we afterwards called La Petaca.³⁹² From a little hill which we ascended, taking with us the picture of Our Lady of Loretó, we plainly sighted California and the great mountain range which they call Sierra del Mescal, and the other which they call Sierra Azul, as well as the closing in of both lands, this New Spain and California.³⁹³ At nightfall some natives came to see us with their wives and little children, whom they gave us to baptize after having heard the Word of God, which we preached to them.

APRIL 1. On the first of April, we having sent an Indian to summon the rest of the people of that dis-

³⁹⁰ Manje says they were caused to return by the guides telling of a watering place north of Santa Clara. Salvatierra adds interesting items, *op cit.*, 149-154.

³⁹¹ A journey of seventeen leagues (Manje), Pitaqui having been twenty-four leagues from San Marcelo.

³⁹² The sachel or trunk. A play on the word Pitaqui.

³⁹³ Manje says fourteen leagues northwest to three tanks of rain water. They climbed another hill six leagues north of Santa Clara. Manje says they could determine nothing from where they were. The tank was clearly that now called Tinaja de los Papagoes. The peak was evidently Sierra Hornaday or the crater just south of it. See Lumholtz, *op. cit.*, 232.

trict, at ten o'clock he brought two squads of Yuma, Pima, and Cocomaricopa natives, with their governors, who for the most part were of those whom I had seen the year before at San Dionisio, about forty leagues farther to the north, at the confluence of the Rio Colorado and the Rio Grande; and they all told us that to go inland as we desired to the Quiquimas of California, there still lay before us thirty leagues, or three days' journey, of stretches of sand such that they had neither water nor pasturage, whereupon the father rector, Juan Maria, determined that we should return, but we planned that on another and more favorable occasion, after the rainy season and the hot weather, I should penetrate in higher latitude by way of the confluence of the rivers and by San Dionisio (as I did enter in November) to the said Quiquimas. And this afternoon we retraced half of the distance traversed the day before, contenting ourselves meanwhile with having seen so plainly the truth in regard to the land passage to California, for, with this journey and that which I made five months afterward to thirty-three and thirty-two degrees of latitude, not the least doubt remained, unless it were in the incorrect opinion of some disaffected persons.

2. On the second we arrived at midday at El Carizal, and at night-fall at San Marcelo, where the adjutant and the soldiers were waiting for us with many natives, and with many letters from Sonora, and from various parts.

3. On the third Father Rector Juan Maria determined to return with the ten soldiers by way of La Concepcion del Cabotca, through which we had come, and I, because it was some time since I had seen the Pimeria of the north and its Sobayporis, determined to return to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores by the north and San

Xavier del Baac. The question then arose as to whether the father rector or I should carry the beloved picture of Our Lady of Loreto, and although I should have been content to have the father rector carry that great consolation with him, his Reverence determined that we should draw lots by writing on two little papers "north" and "south"; and as on drawing the little papers the one for the "north" fell to me, to me fell the joy of carrying this great Lady of Loreto in the north of this Pimeria of the Sobaiporis, she being our North Star.

This afternoon the father rector set out with the ten soldiers on his southerly route. I remained for some small matters of business, and to await some replies from the interior and for the building of a little church, almost a chapel, of Nuestra Señora de Loreto, in which I was able to say mass on three days. Although my desire was to set out early the following day with Captain Juan Mateo Manje for San Xavier del Baac, so many runners came from the Quiquimas by day and by night that I had to wait three days. Thereby I left very solid and well-established peace-agreements between these Pimas and those Quiquimas, who promised that they would come to meet one another and to confer in a very friendly way and in great numbers at a half-way point, as was done, and that they would advise me of everything at Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, in order that by the Divine Grace I might penetrate to the Quiquimas in the following autumn.

4. On the fourth the twelve small beams were cut for the little church of Nuestra Señora de Loreto de San Marcelo and its altar was made. The fiscal whom I had sent with the runner of the night before came and brought us news that the governor whom the father rec-

tor had dispatched with messages to Loreto Concho was returning from the Quiquimas, and that he was bringing messages and gifts from the Yumas and Quiquimas.

5. Early on the fifth I dispatched another runner to meet and bring quickly the above mentioned governor. The first mass was said in the little new church with the picture of Our Lady of Loreto placed on the new altar. Orders were given to clear land to plant maize which in sufficient quantity the captain of El Comac had brought us from Tucubabia. At nightfall the governor came bringing the messages and presents from the Quiquimas, especially some blue shells from the opposite coast, saying that with very friendly anxiety they had been waiting for us, greatly desiring our friendship, in order to be converted to our holy faith, and being very much pleased with the messages and little gifts which we had sent them on different occasions, now from about here, from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores in the preceding months, and from San Dionisio the past year. To reassure them I sent word that, God helping me, I would come the next autumn to see them; and I determined to set out the day following for the Sobayporis of the north.³⁹⁴

CHAPTER IX. SETTING OUT FROM SAN MARCELO, AFTER A FIFTY-THREE LEAGUES' JOURNEY WE ARRIVED AT SAN FRANCISCO XAVIER DEL BAAC OF THE SOBAIPORIS. THE KINDNESS AND GOOD CONDITION OF THE NATIVES

APRIL 6, 1701. On the sixth of April, having left word that with the eight loads of provisions which had been left over to us from this expedition they should finish carefully roofing the little new church of Nues-

³⁹⁴ Manje omits nearly all the events of the three days spent at Sonóita.

tra Señora de Loreto, and that the natives should plant very good fields for themselves also, I set out with Captain Juan Mateo Manje from San Marselo, by an eastward course, for San Raphael del Actum el Grande, whence in the afternoon we went on to the watering-place named Gubo.³⁹⁵

7. On the seventh, after a five leagues' journey we arrived at the camp and ranchería of Nuestra Señora de la Merced del Batqui,³⁹⁶ whose natives welcomed, accompanied, and guided us lovingly. From here by a southerly road I dispatched to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores four servants, two muleteers, and two cowboys, with some mules of the pack-train and the most exhausted of the pack-animals; and with the sixteen best pack-animals, most of them mules, I continued my journey to San Xavier del Baac. Traveling twelve leagues farther for lack of a watering-place, after night-fall we arrived at San Serafin del Actum El Chico,³⁹⁷ where not only for the people but also for our pack-animals they had to bring us water in pots from a water-hole at some distance. Today along the road they gave me five infants to baptize, among them two newborn twins who were somewhat weak.

Here we began to obtain some information in regard to the many Pimas, both Sobaiporis and non-Sobaiporis, who in the days preceding had gone out against the hostile Hojomes, Janos, and Apaches, as I related at the beginning of this account of this expedition, for because the Señor governor of El Parral had called a

³⁹⁵ Thirteen leagues for the day. Manje does not mention San Rafael del Actum el Grande.

³⁹⁶ From page 278 we learn that Batqui means "well." Manje says there was a tank at Vatqui.

³⁹⁷ The Little, as distinguished from S. Rafael del Actum El Grande (the Large).

squadron of soldiers from this presidio of Sonora to the Tarmares, the other soldiers availed themselves of these Pimas against the enemies of this province.³⁹⁸

8. On the eighth, after a sixteen leagues' journey, passing by three other rancherías, we arrived at that of El Tupó, all these places also being very poorly supplied with water, although the natives had already planted their crops of maize, beans, and calabashes.³⁹⁹

9. On the ninth, after a ten leagues' journey, at two in the afternoon we arrived at San Xavier del Baac.⁴⁰⁰ Some natives who were hunting and from afar saw us coming on our journey, left the chase and came to meet us and to welcome us with all friendliness and love. We found that a few days before the governor and the captain of this great ranchería or incipient pueblo of San Xavier del Baac had gone out with many other natives to war against the enemies of this province of Sonora, the Hojomes, Apaches, and Janos.

10. On the tenth we rested here at San Xavier, giving various Christian instruction to the many natives who were here. We saw the good field of wheat belonging to the church, the seventy head of sheep and goats, and the cattle which had remained (for more than two hundred had returned to San Luys on account of the neglect of the few cowboys, especially when they had gone to eat *pitajayas*). Much kindness was shown us by these very excellent natives. They gave us many of their provisions, many of their good fabrics and

³⁹⁸ Manje says they went eighteen leagues for the day, passing five rancheríos after leaving Vatuqui, and camped at Guactun. Here the Indians gave them red guacamaya feathers.

³⁹⁹ Manje says eighteen leagues to Ranchería del Tups, where there was a good tank.

⁴⁰⁰ Manje says twelve leagues to Bac. Here they learned that half of the men had gone with Escalante, at the call of Jironza, to avenge the death of the five Pimas.

blankets of cotton, numerous baskets, buck-skins, and red feathers of the mahy macaws which are raised here, etc. This afternoon came the news of the victory which these Pimas had won in their war against the enemy on the very day when Our Lady of Loreto entered into these their lands, as is told in the following chapter.⁴⁰¹

CHAPTER X. SETTING OUT FROM SAN XAVIER DEL BAAC, AFTER TRAVELLING SIXTY LEAGUES SOUTH WE ARRIVE AT NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS DOLORES; LETTERS FROM THE ROYAL JUSTICES AND MILITARY LEADERS WHICH WE RECEIVE ON THE WAY IN REGARD TO THE HAPPY VICTORY OF THESE PIMAS OVER THE ENEMIES OF THIS PROVINCE OF SONORA

11. On the eleventh of April, taking our way toward the south, after an eighteen leagues' journey we arrived at San Cayetano.⁴⁰²

12. On the twelfth we came to San Luys, a ten leagues' journey, passing at midday by San Gabriel de Guebavi. In the ranch of San Luys we counted the three hundred and forty cattle that were there.⁴⁰³ We found that the soldiers of the presidio who seven days before had passed by this ranch with the Indians of Cocospera and of these environs had taken to the war a few beeves and some of the sheep.

13. On the thirteenth we set out for Cocospera,⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰¹ Manje omits the events of this day. For the importance of the *pitajaya*, or *sahuaro* (*cereus giganteus*) to the Papagoes, see Lumholtz, *op. cit.*, chap. iv.

⁴⁰² Manje gives the distance as twenty leagues. At San Cayetano they slept in the house of *adobe y terrado* which the natives had built for the minister they were awaiting.

⁴⁰³ Manje says they counted four hundred cattle and two hundred sheep on the Guebavi ranch, and mentions the minister's house at San Luis de Bacoancos.

⁴⁰⁴ Above San Luis they passed through four rancherías. Manje gives the distance as fourteen leagues. At Cocospera the Indians were building a

and two days afterward for Nuestra Señora de los Dolores,⁴⁰⁵ for I had been detained by the following letter of the Señor alcalde mayor of this province, Don Ysidro Ruiz de Abechuco, who, with the citizens of the Real de San Juan and of the province of Sonora, also had made an expedition to the north against the enemy. His Honor on the fourteenth of April wrote me from Guebavi the following excellent letter:

I have just arrived at this valley and pueblo of Guebavi, and I have learned through the Pima natives that your Reverence passed this way toward your home. Now I assure you that I have regretted not having come a day sooner that we might have the pleasure of seeing each other and I of speaking with all this Pima nation. For at present they are assembled, because they have just come back from having given the Apaches a good beating, as they tell me; and I observe that the victory which they have won is great, because there is no one who does not come with a scalp-lock and as joyful as I am at having found so suitable an occasion to welcome them all from the victory which they bring, and to see them as friendly as if we had been in communication with them all our lives. May God preserve them in peace, and by means of them may we secure in the province the quietude which it so much desired; and may it be for the service of God and the King.

I have had information also that the journey which your Reverence has made in the company of the Very Reverend Father Juan Maria Salvatierra has been one of great satisfaction and pleasure, because the purpose which was desired, of dis-

church and a house, according to Kino's orders. Two days were spent here to supervise and assist in the work. Here they learned that the Pimas and soldiers had killed forty Apaches and captured twenty children in the last campaign, without loss to the Spaniards. All the braves bore Apache scalps and a scalp dance was held (Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 109).

⁴⁰⁵ On the sixteenth they went six leagues to Remedios, which was under Kino's administration. They found the house and church well along, and the house painted. The church when finished was to have three chapels and a beautiful transept, of the best in Sonora. On the same day they went eight leagues to Dolores, where they entered the temple to give thanks for the successful journey. On this journey four hundred new Indians had been registered (Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 105-110).

covering a land route to California, has been accomplished. This news has been a source of very great pleasure to me; and therefore I shall appreciate it if your Reverence will inform me if it is true. I shall set out day after tomorrow from this valley, and I shall go by way of Cocospora,⁴⁰⁶ with God's favor, toward Bacanuche, and so if anything occurs to your Reverence in which I can serve you, you may command me with the certainty of my good will. All the citizens and companions who come with me salute your Reverence and the very Reverend Father Juan Maria very heartily, and all greatly rejoice at the successful journey of your Reverence, in particular Captain Simon Rodrigues Soto and Captain Recalde, who also are with me in this valley and pueblo of Guebavi. But in order not to trouble your Reverence I say no more, nor do I enlarge on everything as I should wish. I set out with the citizens to follow after and to aid the Pimas, but as I could not arrive in time to fight with them against the Apaches, from Quiburi I returned to this valley to see and to speak with these natives, with whom I have been much pleased. All the natives salute your Reverence, and in particular the governor of the ranch, Eusevio, who said to me after this was closed that I should salute your Reverence and advise you that all are returning safe from their journey.⁴⁰⁷

Thus far General Ysidro Ruis de Abechuco. And

⁴⁰⁶ From Manje we learn that Ruíz de Abechuco, with his twenty men, overtook Kino and Salvatierra at Cocóspera (Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 110).

⁴⁰⁷ Manje's last journey with the missionaries was the one made with Kino and Salvatierra. In the nine (I find only eight) recounted in his itineraries he and the fathers had travelled three thousand leagues, not counting four campaigns against the Indians, and others to the Pimería for other purposes. They had listed of the Pimas alone twelve thousand souls, and two thousand Yuma men corresponding to as many families. They had baptized in these pueblos seven hundred. In these seven years the Pimas killed six hundred and eighty enemies, not to count the captured children (*Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 110-112).

Add to this the campaigns made by the fifty soldiers of the Compañía Volante in the first seven years during which Jironza founded and ruled it. More than thirty are noted in the book, autos of which were sent to the officials; not to mention monthly journeys to explore the frontiers and passes, recover stolen goods, or convoy merchant trains or passengers (*ibid.*, 112).

immediately afterward comes the following letter from the commander of the soldiers, Juan Bautista de Escalante. It is as follow:

MY DEAR SIR: The reason for my not having written these lines before, on the occasion of having come into those Pima lands, was a lack of paper. Nevertheless, being now upon this frontier, I do not wish to neglect to inform your Reverence how I went on the campaign which our beloved and loving Pimas made against the enemies of our holy faith, in which it has gone very well with us; for our friends, three hundred and thirty-two in number, set out with only the provisions which they could carry in their bags. They persevered in the campaign in great need and hunger, and succeeded in carrying out their intentions, as His Divine Majesty granted us also; for, after having marched some days we attacked a ranchería of Apaches, where seventeen of the enemy were killed, without any injury to us. We captured sixteen persons, of whom the Pimas are taking twelve and have sold us four, because I told them that whatever was captured should belong to the captor, in order to rouse in them a stronger desire to display valor. And such was the case, for they, being many, captured fourteen, and we two. This has been of great importance as a means of showing the opponents of this new nation the falsehood and the error in which they have been, unless it be that partisanship closes the eyes of their reason.

But Divine Majesty, who always favors the truth, will open the understanding and the eyes of those who have kept them closed, by means of many another victory which I hope we shall win, with the aid of the Pimas, as I see them each day. And if there had been provisions we should have won not one good victory but many. But they agreed to make another campaign. For all this we ought to give thanks to God our Lord and also to your Reverence, for, it is through you and your very Christian zeal for the honor of God that we have such excellent friends as are our Pimas. And so on my part I thank your paternal Reverence and repeatedly for your good work in the service of God and the King, and my companions do the same.

Now let me inform your Reverence that my departure from that frontier was so very sudden that we all set out without any

provisions for the campaign except a few tortillas in our saddlebags, for which reason necessity obliged me to kill at San Luys and at Guebavi two ewes and one wether. At the same time I ordered sent from said ranch of San Luys a few cattle to Sonoidag,⁴⁰⁸ which was the rendezvous of the Indians. And having detained Captain Coro a day to kill two beeves, they asked me to give them some, too, for which reason I killed eight, two for myself and six for the Pimas, four cows and four horses, two large and two small.

I give this information in such detail in order that your Reverence may decide what seems best to you in the matter, for I am ready to do whatever your paternal Reverence may determine concerning the payment of the amount of all this. Indeed, besides repaying it, I thank you, for the great care of your Reverence in having so many ranches in different parts is of much assistance to us, as has been the case on this occasion. And so I await the response of your paternal Reverence, to whom may our Lord grant good health and a long life, that with your holy zeal you may give us many new friends for the defense of the holy Gospel. Presidio of Corodeguachi, April 13, 1701. Juan Bautista de Escalante kisses the hand of your Reverence.

CHAPTER XI. VARIOUS OTHER LETTERS FROM THE DIFFERENT MISSIONARY FATHERS, BOTH IN REGARD TO THE ABOVE-MENTIONED JOURNEY TO THE LAND PASSAGE TO CALIFORNIA, AND IN REGARD TO THE VICTORY OF THESE PIMAS OVER THE ENEMIES OF THIS PROVINCE OF SONORA

The father rector, Juan Maria de Salvatierra, having set out from San Marcelo by La Concepción del Cabotca and by San Ygnacio, and having arrived at Cucurpe, on the fourteenth of April wrote me the following:

Having arrived at this pueblo of Cucurpe in safety, thanks be to God and to His Most Holy Mother, I salute your Reverence heartily. It is necessary for me to set out for the neigh-

⁴⁰⁸ Not the Sonóita near the Gulf, but another place by this name east of the Santa Cruz River and north of Guebavi. There was a third Sonóita south of Nogales.

borhood of our coast and harbor, for my ignorance of everything unsettles me. Father Melchor Bartiromo tells me that your Reverence arrived yesterday afternoon at Cocospera with Captain Juan Matheo Manje, and certainly I have rejoiced that your Reverence's journey has turned out well. The sumpters of your Reverence have all been delivered at Santa Maria Magdalena to the drivers of the pack train. Words fail me with which to thank your Reverence for so many and so great toils undertaken in the honor of the Madonna of Discovery. May she intercede with her most precious Son for the recompense of all. Thus I shall write to the father provincial and to the father visitor and to the rest.

On setting out from Cucurpe to return to California his Reverence wrote me the following:

I congratulate your Reverence on the victory of the Pima natives over the enemy, of which I hear, with my foot in the stirrup at Cucurpe, when about to set out in all haste to Yaqui to see if I can repair the many damages and relieve poor California, made helpless through the loss, as they say, of two barks which do not appear in any port. My beloved Father Eusevio, now it is time for your Reverence to aid us with a good consignment of flour, tallow, and suet, in skins, because I consider these poor people in great need. If your Reverence could send your pack-train to Matape with aid it would be of great importance at this time, and the father rector of Matape will send it promptly to Hyaqui for the sail-boats. And, so, if your Reverence can do it, I earnestly beseech you to write to the father rector of Matape telling how many loads you can send and when they can be in Matape, so that he may have ready everything which goes to Hyaqui. Your Reverence will pardon one molestation after another, for the occasion of so great a loss forces me to it. And, finally, I beg that you will not forget me in your prayers and holy sacrifices.

The father rector, Juan Maria de Salvatierra, having arrived in California, on the sixteenth of May wrote me the following from Loreto Concho:

I have received the news of your Reverence's return to your holy mission, and I have rejoiced at the good success of the Pima natives over the enemy and at the blue shells from the

Quiquimas. Your Reverence has a thousand benedictions from all the fathers and seculars for your journey and for the discovery, from the hill, at a distance, of the joining of New California and New Spain. And much greater has been the rejoicing to know that your Reverence has the means and the desire to examine at close hand that which a distant vision might misrepresent. I have just received a recent letter from the father provincial, and in it I note that the California of your Reverence is California *efisienter*,⁴⁰⁹ for your Reverence with your aid will bring it about that California will be California; and so, your Reverence, take courage with your aid, for the one who is *effisienter* ⁴¹⁰ is this *Pater et Mater Californiorum Loretanorum*.⁴¹¹

Thus far Father Rector Juan Maria; and in the same letter Father Francisco Maria Picolo adds the following:

My beloved Father Eusevio Francisco Kino, I give your Reverence a thousand congratulations for the discovery, so much desired. May our Lord grant us the boon of seeing California carry on trade with New Spain by land, for the relief of these missions and for the good of so many souls. I shall rejoice if your Reverence's health be perfect, and may you live for many years to the glory of His Divine Majesty, etc.

The father visitor, Anttonio Leal, on the seventeenth of April wrote me thus:

I have rejoiced greatly that your Reverence has now returned from your journey, which has been made with hopes so well-founded as to constitute certainty of the continuity of the land. God willing, on another occasion the rest shall be accomplished, and even if on this occasion nothing more had been accomplished than the peace-agreements of those nations the trouble would have been well worth while. God will repay your Reverence, as He is repaying you already, for soon came the rejoicing over the victory of the Pimas and the booty which they bring, which has caused very general jubilation. The father rector, Juan Maria Salvatierra, is very grateful to your

⁴⁰⁹ "Indeed." In his letter to Arteaga Salvatierra gives data concerning his return to California (*op. cit.*, 154-156).

⁴¹⁰ "Efficient."

⁴¹¹ "Father and mother of the California Loretines."

Reverence for the good which you have done him in everything. He asks me to thank your Reverence, as I do once and again.

Thus far the father visitor. The Father Rector Marcos de Loyola on the eighteenth of April wrote me the following:

The father visitor has just communicated to me a letter of your Reverence, written from Cocospora to Father Bartyromo about the victory which the Pimas and the soldiers have won over the hostile Jocomes and Janos, news very welcome to all, and to me especially, for everything that your Reverence so many times has asserted in regard to the Pimas has proved so true that there can be no doubt that now the incredulous will believe what your Reverence has proved so conclusively. Also, he communicated to me the arrival of your Reverence from your journey, so extended, and the great good which your Reverences have done in those travels, and that you have succeeded in finding the way to California. I do not know how to signify to your Reverence how much I have rejoiced on account of this. Already I have written to the father visitor that the great success of the journey is due to your Reverence and to your many praiseworthy toils, for your Reverence, with your apostolic endeavor, has been the first to penetrate those unknown lands, and you are the one who is preparing those harvests, so that in their time they may be gathered in with much fruit. For all this a thousand thanks to your Reverence. I wish I were something in religion ⁴¹² so as to reward that which is so worthy of reward, but God is He who must do that.

Thus far Father Rector Marcos de Loyola. The Father Rector Manual Gonzales on the thirtieth of May wrote me the following:

A thousand million congratulations I give to your Reverence; no longer are proofs necessary for your Pimería. A thousand more the Señor alcalde mayor will give if they are asked of him. *Vale, mi Pater amantissime, vale, vale, et laetare, a thousand million times and for all eternity; et ora pro me, etc.* ⁴¹³

⁴¹² *I.e.*, held an office.

⁴¹³ "Farewell, my most loving Father, farewell, a thousand million times and for all eternity, be of good cheer and pray for me."

Father Oracio Polise, who during the three years past was visitor of the missions of Sonora, who afterwards received from Rome the rectorate of San Luys Portolli,⁴¹⁴ and who has always been very sympathetic, loving, and a great encourager and promoter of the new conversions, wrote me another letter of like tenor, and of the things which were dictated to him by his great zeal for so many souls as there are in this North America, so extensive.

Father Geronimo Pistoya, who was visitor and rector of the College of Cinaloa, not only after the journey but also during it, on the eleventh of February wrote me this apostolic and holy consolation, as follows:

I give your Reverence sincere thanks for the great work you have done in seeking out the scattered sheep, and those which are outside the fold of the holy Gospel. God will recompense your Reverence for it even in this life, and one of the compensations is the opposition which your Reverence has always met. I do not deny that it is grievous and bitter to human nature, but it is very glorious and sweet to the Divine.

Father Venzeslao Eumer,⁴¹⁵ visitor of the Tarau-
mares, making known the great error of the English General Drake, who falsely delineated California for us as an island, apropos of what Father Rector Juan Maria wrote to the Taraumeres, on the fifth of September wrote me the following very learned and very fervent letter in Latin:⁴¹⁶

May the event be blest, happy and joyous, may it redound to

⁴¹⁴ Evidently a mis-copy for San Luis Potosi.

⁴¹⁵ Stocklein (*Neue Welt-Bott*, theil ii, 85-86) prints a letter from P. Wenceslau Eymer, of Bohemia, to R. P. Joannem Walt, in Bohemia, written Jan. 8, 1696, from Papigotschyki, Tarahumara. For a sketch of Eymer see Huonder, *op. cit.*, 107.

⁴¹⁶ Instead of giving the Latin in the text as in case of other Latin passages, the translation is given here, the Latin being put in the note. The passage is as follows: "*Quod bonum, felix, fortunatumque sit, et ad majorem*

the greater glory of God, to the honor of His Immaculate Mother, to the extension of Holy Church, to the spread of our orthodox faith, and to the salvation of souls that, under the auspices of the queen of Loreto, by the apostolic sweat, and untiring labor of Fathers Juan María and Francisco Eusebio, California has been happily found to be part of the mainland. Away now with British temerity, with her English Drake, and let him keep silent who boasts that he has circumnavigated California, as if, by a foolish fiction, California were the Atlantis of the West. I congratulate Your Reverence, therefore, and I ask God's most abundant blessings, fortified with which you may wage relentless war on Californian idolatry, while we, glorious with the palm, sing your victory.

Thus says Father Wenceslaus. I shall give, farther on, letters from the superiors and from the province.

CHAPTER XII. LETTERS FROM OTHER SECULAR GENTLEMEN AND MINISTERS OF HIS ROYAL MAJESTY IN REGARD TO THIS JOURNEY AND THE PASSAGE TO CALIFORNIA, AND IN REGARD TO THIS VICTORY OF THE PIMAS

Captain Juan Mateo Manje, who went with us on this expedition, wrote a long account of it in which, although he supports the statements of the fathers, yet, on account of a bay⁴¹⁷ which we saw from a distance about three leagues farther to the west than the ridge whence we returned, with the unanimous and unquali-

Dei Deiparæque sine labe conceptæ honorem, Ecclesiæ Sanctæ incrementum, Fidei orthodoxæ dilatacionem, animarumque Salutem eveniat, California sub auspiciis Reginae Lauretanæ, Sudore apostolico et labore indefesso P. P. Joannis Mariæ et Francisci Eusebii Continens feliciter inventa est. Eat nunc cum suo Draco Angli[c]o et digitum ori imponat temeritas Britanica, quæ inani fabula in Atlante Californiarum Californiam a se circumnavigatam jactat. Gratulor igitur Reverentiæ Vestræ, et uberrima Dei auxilia precor, quibus munitus bellum idolatriæ Californiæ indicat cruentum cum palma Victoriam gloriosi occinimus."

⁴¹⁷ Manje distinctly says that, contrary to the maps and geographers, they could find no bay near Santa Clara (*Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 104).

fied favorable opinion of the fathers, he placed in doubt whether or not California had continental connection with this land; but now, by the two expeditions which I afterwards made to that bay, this doubt has been removed, as shall be seen in the next book.

General Don Domingo Jironza Petris de Crussatt, who has been twice governor of New Mexico and *alcalde mayor* and captain of the presidio of this province of Sonora, on the twenty-first of June wrote me the following:

Once and again I thank your Reverence for the greetings of the excellent Pima natives, to whom I very heartily return greetings, for, although I have measured the strength of the common enemy, we are going to have tranquillity through that Pima nation, and they are to be the fundamental base from which to extend the seed of the Gospel through the long circuit of the other nations. The credit is due to your Reverence for the greatest watchfulness in your unwearying peregrinations, so much for the service of God, who will give the reward for all. I am still waiting for the blue shells which came from California by a continental route found by the good endeavors of your Reverence, who are worthy of receiving repeated thanks and rewards from the superiors for undertakings so heroic, and whenever opportunity offers I shall give to the Señor viceroy and to the superior fathers account of everything.⁴¹⁸

CHAPTER XIII. FOUR NEW MISSIONARY FATHERS ENTER THIS PIMERIA

1701. As a result of the expedition of the father visitor, Antonio Leal, which was made two years before and which I narrate in the first part, and of the reports of his Reverence and of other persons zealous for the

⁴¹⁸ On the margin at this point in the original are directions to transfer the remainder of this chapter to chapter viii of the next Book, where the passages chronologically belong. They have been so transferred. See pages 325-327, *post*.

service of God and the king, this year, 1701, the father provincial, Francisco de Arteaga, sent us four new fathers for this Pimeria; and, although the accustomed obstacles and opposition did not fail, they came in to the posts and new pueblos which were assigned to them by the father visitor. They found the many docile people, and cattle, crops, and harvests, and the beginnings of houses and churches which his Reverence had seen with his eyes, and they remained very well content, with great hopes of establishing there in the interior some very flourishing missions, as they said and wrote to me and to other persons on different occasions.

The four fathers who entered were the following: Father Juan de San Martin came to the three rancherías or new pueblos of San Gabriel de Guebavi, San Cayetano, and San Luys, which are about thirty leagues to the northward of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. Father Francisco Gonzalvo went on farther to San Francisco Xavier del Baac of the Sobayporis, which is about sixty leagues from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores.

To the west, to San Pedro and San Pablo del Tubutama, which is twenty-five leagues from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, and fifteen from San Ygnacio, went Father Ygnacio de Yturmendi; and twenty-two leagues farther inland, to Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion del Cabotca, went Father Caspar de las Barillas.

In all places buildings were constructed, and very good beginnings were made in spiritual and temporal matters. In Guebavi in a few months we finished a house and a church, small but neat, and we laid the foundations of a church and a large house. Father

Juan de San Martin, on going by San Ygnacio, on the thirtieth of June wrote me the following letter:

Yesterday afternoon, on account of the rain, which was excessive, we did not set out from San Ygnacio for Hymeres, although the loads and packs had already gone; and as nothing happens by chance, so far as God is concerned, his Majesty disposed my detention that I might receive your Reverence's letter and learn from it the very great charity which your Reverence does me, offering to assist me with all that is necessary for the new pueblos where holy duty assigns me.⁴¹⁹

Father Ygnacio de Yturmendi, from his new district of San Pedro y San Pablo del Tubutama, on the eighth of July wrote me thus:

God will reward your Reverence for the gift of the cattle, sheep, goats, etc.; the reward your Reverence will receive in the next life, for your Reverence shows yourself a father to us poor fathers. I have been very grateful for the many favors of your Reverence.

Similarly, on account of the accustomed opposition of the common enemy, on the twenty-first of July the father visitor, Antonio Leal, wrote me the following:

Much comfort have I had in your Reverence's letter, and because of those which the fathers have written to your Reverence. Now God is moving against the hindrances of the enemy; so I trust in his Majesty that he wills for your Reverence these provocations, for your greater merit.

⁴¹⁹ Bancroft (*Arizona and New Mexico*, 361) concludes that Arizona had no "regular mission or resident Jesuit" in Kino's day. This passage shows conclusively that he is mistaken. It is confirmed by other passages in the writings of both Kino and Manje. See Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, 449, footnote 3, where Father Gonzalvo's name is by mistake given as González.

BOOK III. OF MY EXPEDITION OF TWO
HUNDRED LEAGUES TO THE QUIQUIMA
NATION OF UPPER CALIFORNIA, AND TO
THE VERY LARGE, VERY FERTILE, AND
VERY POPULOUS RIO COLORADO,
WHICH IS THE REAL AND TRUE
RIO DEL NORTE, 1701 ⁴²⁰

CHAPTER I. LETTER OF THE FATHER RECTOR, JUAN
MARIA DE SALVATIERRA, IN REGARD TO THIS
EXPEDITION, WHICH I RECEIVE WHEN ON
THE POINT OF MOUNTING MY HORSE
TO UNDERTAKE IT

Pursuant to the plans which Father Rector Juan Maria de Salvatierra and I had made in the previous expedition of the past month of March, it was my desire and determination to make this expedition in October, but as other occupations detained me some days, meanwhile there came from California the letter of his Reverence of September 10, dated at Loreto Concho. It runs thus:

1701. I receive your Reverence's letter dated July 10, with much pleasure at seeing the beloved handwriting of your Rever-

⁴²⁰ Manje adds interesting information here (*op. cit.*, 110-111). Jironza had agreed, because of the varied opinions and maps, to send soldiers to help the fathers settle the question of the land passage, and to see if a certain mineral vein shown them by the Indians was of gold or quicksilver. The soldiers were not sent because of a change in the military command, General Jacinto Fuensaldaña becoming commander of the *Compañía Volante* of Sonora, and Manje could not go because he was made *alcalde mayor* and captain-general of Sonora, and was called out to punish the Apaches just as the journey was begun. He adds that the missionaries went but left the matter of the land passage still in doubt.

ence, so eager to go to see the beloved Quiquimas by the head of the strait. God grant your Reverence all the strength which I wish you, and that, with the patronage of the Madonna, *Conculcabit leonem ett Draconem*; ⁴²¹ and so, good courage, which perhaps your Reverence will receive on your passage. We can not set out from here to meet your Reverence because we are without the necessary mounts, through lack of a suitable bark. ⁴²² I thank your Reverence sincerely for the ten loads of flour from last year's harvest, delivered at Matape, and the other ten to be delivered at Matape or Nacori, of the harvest of this year, the first of the century. It is the first offering which the Madonna has had, and as little or none can we expect from any other district, I pray your reverence that when you can, and as early as possible, you will deliver it at Matape, for we are much in need, not having had the aid of one *real* from the King our Lord, and most of the soldiers having gone to a little war which we have had with some priests of the idols, which placed us in much danger. But our Lady has aided us, and on the octave of Assumption they captured a principal chief and beat him to death; ⁴²³ the others made peace, coming with crosses in their hands, and we have emerged from that danger. And so, your Reverence, commend us in many devotions to our Lady, that She may give strength to the sixteen soldiers who remain to keep the circuit of more than fifty leagues of land obedient. I will give an account to our father of the great aid which your Reverence is giving us. And finally, your Reverence, accept a thousand greetings from my Father Rector Juan Duarte ^{423a} and Father Francisco Maria Picolo. With this I close, commending myself to your holy prayers and sacrifices. Loreto Concho.

October 18, 1701.

Thus far the father rector, Juan Maria de Salvatiera.

⁴²¹ "He will trample under foot the lion and the dragon" (*Psalms* xc, 13. *Conculcabis leonem*, etc.) Kino varies the person of the verb to suit the occasion.

⁴²² That is, barks were lacking to transport the necessary horses across the Gulf.

⁴²³ *Apelotearon*.

^{423a} Juan de Ugarte.

CHAPTER II. MY DEPARTURE FROM NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS DOLORES FOR THE QUIQUIMAS OF CALIFORNIA, WHO ARE TWO HUNDRED LEAGUES DISTANT, WITH TWELVE SERVANTS, AND MY ARRIVAL AT SAN MARCELO, A JOURNEY OF MORE THAN NINETY LEAGUES ⁴²⁴

NOVEMBER 3, 1701. On November 3, 1701, having dispatched five servants a day before with the relay of horses and with two small loads, I set out early from the pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. I arrived in time to say mass and have All Souls celebrated at Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, and in the afternoon I passed on to the third pueblo, that of Cocospora.

4. On the fourth, having said the mass of All Souls, I arrived at midday at San Lazaro and spent the night at San Jose Guebavi, passing by San Luys,⁴²⁵ where we killed a beef that they might sow the wheat for the Church; and I sent messages to the ranchería of Los Reyes del Sonoydag, six leagues to the east, to Captain Coro and his many people.

5. On the fifth, having said mass in the new and very neat little church, which a little while before Father Juan de San Martin had built (his Reverence at this time had gone away to be treated) and which I had ordered roofed and whitewashed, I set out to the westward for San Ambrosio del Busanic, and, passing by the borders of the new ranch of San Simon y San Judas del Siboda, where there were about a thousand

⁴²⁴ So far as I know, no other diary of this journey has been found. Heretofore our principal reliance has been Ortega, *Apostólicos Afanes*, 295-301, which is a summary of this diary. Other brief accounts are given in Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i, 497-499, Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 359; Venegas, *Nóticia de la California*, vol. ii, 103-105; Alegre, *Historia de la Comp. de Jesús*, vol. iii, 134.

⁴²⁵ San Luis Bacoancos, called San Luis de Babi by Ortega (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 295).

cattle and seven droves of mares, with sufficient horses and mules, all for the new missions which were being founded, after a fifteen leagues' journey we camped for the night at a good stopping-place, another Sonoydag, six leagues before arriving at San Ambrosio del Buisanic.

6. On the sixth, Sunday, I arrived in time to say mass at San Ambrosio. We killed two beeves of this small new ranch, which had eighty-six grown cattle and forty-nine young ones, and three droves of mares, one of which we took with us with our relay of horses to San Marcelo, about fifty leagues farther in the interior.

7. On the seventh we dried some meat for the journey along the coast. We counted the droves and found out what they had sown and gathered for us of maize and wheat and beans.

8. On the eighth we set out for San Estanislao del Ootcam,⁴²⁶ and having arrived after ten leagues' journey, we found that the governor of this ranchería had gathered and was keeping for us more than ten loads of maize which he had sown for us for the Church, without having been asked to do so.

9. On the ninth, they having given us four infants to baptize, we set out for Santa Ana del Anamic, where we arrived after fifteen leagues' journey, an hour after nightfall, by moonlight, some from San Estanislao accompanying us. The alcalde went ahead promptly to give notice of our coming, whereupon the governor of Santa Ana provided for us a little house and an arbor, and sundry of their eatables. When we had spoken to them of the Word of God they all wished to be baptized the following day, but I consented to baptize only two infants.

10. On the tenth we continued our route to the

⁴²⁶ Miscalled Ooltan by Ortega (*Apostólicos Añanes*, page 296).

westward. After a three leagues' journey we arrived at the small tank, or little well, of Santa Sabina, for afterwards we gave it this name, because on the return I said here the first mass on the day of the glorious saint, and it was the day on which the most glorious apostle of all the Indies died in the East Indies. There was not lacking here some one to sow the very evil darnel that farther on there were no water-holes, trying to induce us thereby to return thence, but a good Indian stranger, whom we made a fiscal and gave some little gifts, told us that he would take us to a good water-hole, although we should arrive at nightfall or a little after, as we did arrive, in the moonlight and half an hour after nightfall. The water-hole had abundant good rain-water with good pasturage. To it as well as to the near-by ranchería we gave the name of San Martín,⁴²⁷ because the following day, day of the glorious saint, I said his mass here.

11. On the eleventh we set out for San Marcelo; and after a sixteen leagues' journey we arrived, also at nightfall. A little before noon we passed by the ranchería of San Rafael del Actun El Grande,⁴²⁸ where we found that the captain of it had already set out with many other Indians to look for maize, for here none had been raised, on account of the scarcity of rain this year at the time of their planting, for they have no water but that of the rains. Today also many justices of various rancherías accompanied us, and in San Marcelo we were welcomed with all kindness by the natives, and by their justices, as well as by the very excellent overseer of the ranch, who had carried our messages with singular loy-

⁴²⁷ Ortega overlooked Santa Sabina and placed San Martín at three leagues from Santa Ana.

⁴²⁸ "The Large." Compare San Serafín del Actum el Chico, *ante*, page 290. The routes between Santa Eulalia and San Rafael, as shown on my map, are to some extent conjectural.

alty, and had brought about with very good management the treaties between the Yumas and Quiquimas as we had charged them during the preceding months, and he and others gave us very good and very friendly news of both nations.

We found the new little church of Nuestra Señora de Loreto very well roofed and well whitewashed, and the harvest of wheat and maize, and observed the good care which they had taken of the cattle. We delivered to them the drove of mares which for that purpose we were bringing, and sent to San Ambrosio del Busanic for sheep and goats also that they might be brought hither, as was done.

CHAPTER III. WE SET OUT FROM SAN MARCELO,
AND AFTER A SIXTY LEAGUES' JOURNEY WE AR-
RIVE AT THE YUMAS, AND AT SAN DIONYSIO
AT THE CONFLUENCE OF THE RIO GRANDE
DE HYLÁ AND THE LARGE RIO COLORA-
DO, OR RIO DEL NORTE

NOVEMBER 12, 1701. On the twelfth of November I despatched a courier to the Yumas and Quiquimas, giving notice of our coming, and a few hours afterward they brought me some gifts from these nations, consisting of seven curious balls, and blue shells from the opposite coast of California, with very friendly messages which they had sent me during the weeks preceding. We killed two fat beeves, and made a corral for the horses, and one for the cattle; and I ordered a new irrigation ditch opened, with which (as with ease might be done) to bring the water to the door of the house and at the same time to water a good field of wheat, and the sowing which was made while we went on the expedition, and which on our return we found done.

13. On the thirteenth, they having given us four in-

phants to baptize, we set out for Carrizal, where we found many people, with a little new house which they had prepared for me, and with new messages from the Yumas and Quiquimas. And they gave me two infants and five sick adults to baptize, the latter being instructed.

14. On the fourteenth we set out for the tank of La Luna, twenty leagues' journey. We arrived by moonlight half an hour after night fall, and although this tank is between rocks so sharp that the horses could not ascend to drink, we saw where on the return we could open a way for them, and afterwards we did open it.

15. On the fifteenth we set out for the tank of Agua Escondida. We took a siesta halfway, where there was good pasturage, and at two in the afternoon, after a ten leagues' journey, we arrived at the tank, which we found somewhat scant. We therefore determined to set out as quickly as possible to arrive on the following day so much the earlier at the good tank of La Tinaja, and having set out at nightfall, a good shower came upon us which, however, by the darkness made us lose the way; notwithstanding, we found it afterwards when the storm cleared, and, breaking our sleep a little, we got up very early in the morning, and,

16. On the sixteenth, traveling five leagues more, we said mass at a good stopping-place with water and pasturage. We breakfasted, and passing by the tank of La Tinaja, after a fifteen leagues' journey we arrived early at the Rio Grande de Hyla, and at its first rancheria of San Pedro, where the Yuma and Pima natives, mingled, welcomed us with all love, although with scarcity of provisions, for this year at the best time for planting rain had failed them. We found the courier and other justices who had come before, and also very

good news of the Quiquimas, who were anxiously waiting for us.⁴²⁹

17. On the seventeenth we set out from San Pedro westward, for San Dionisio, a great ranchería at the confluence of the Rio Grande de Hyla and the very large Rio Colorado; and, having crossed the Rio Grande on horseback by the only ford which it had in that vicinity, with a following of more than two hundred Yumas and Pimas from San Pedro, at nightfall we arrived in safety at San Dionisio, where also they received us with great affection.

CHAPTER IV. SETTING OUT FROM SAN DIONISIO,
AND FROM THE CONFLUENCE OF THE RIVERS COL-
ORADO AND Hyla, AFTER A FIFTY LEAGUES'
JOURNEY WE ARRIVED AT THE QUIQUIMA
NATION OF CALIFORNIA ALTA

NOVEMBER 18, 1701. On November the eighteenth, having said mass and crossed the Rio Grande again, and taking a southwest course, or between south and west, a road which up to this time we had never traveled or entered, we set out directly by most level roads toward the Quiquimas of this California Alta, in thirty-three degrees latitude, and rounded the head of the sea, which lay to the south of us, about three hundred Yuma and Pima Indians, mingled, small and great, accompanying us from San Pedro and San Dionysio. They went in these great numbers on this occasion because, they having told me that the Quiquimas had an abundance of provisions, maize, beans, pumpkins, etc., and they being that year very short of provisions, I said to them that I was now going to the Quiquimas, and would barter for, and buy, and give them provisions, beans,

⁴²⁹ Ortega omits all details of the journey from November 11 to this point (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 296).

maize, etc., as I did; and all returned well loaded with all kinds of provisions. Having traveled about thirteen leagues through very level country, seeing to the eastward the very great sandy beach of the head of the Sea of California, and to the westward the banks of the very large volumed Rio Colorado, near-by, we arrived at sunset at the new *ranchería*, still of Yumas, which must have had about five hundred souls, and which we named Santa Ysabel, because the day following I said there the mass of the glorious saint. All the people, although they were rather poor, welcomed us with all friendship and affability, and even late at night we sent to advise the Quiquimas, now near-by, of our coming to their *rancherías*.

19. On the nineteenth we set out for the first *ranchería*, and having arrived at midday we were received with all kindness, with many of their provisions, maize, beans, and various kinds of pumpkins, etc., things which in the six days preceding we had not been able to procure. So great was the affection of these natives that with these provisions they came more than two leagues to meet and to welcome us. While we alighted to receive the food, and to reciprocate with some little gifts and trifles, and to make them a talk on Christian doctrine, and on the purposes of our coming, etc., the only Spanish servant who came in our company, on seeing so great a number of so many new people was so terrified that, without our noticing it until a quarter of an hour after mounting our horses again, fled from us to the rear through fright, leaving us very disconsolate and very apprehensive lest he should go to give some false ill news that some great disaster had happened to us; and although immediately I dispatched in his pursuit the two best boys in the party, who came on the best mounts,

they could not overtake him. This caused me to send letters by couriers by other and shorter roads, as had happened on other occasions, when they took us for dead, though the celestial favors of our Lord preserved us in a pleasant life of prosperous successes in these new conversions.

In this first *ranchería* of these Quiquimas, with the messages and little gifts which we had sent them during the months preceding, they received us with much friendship, asking us that we should remain some days with them. We remained that day and half of the day following, and to this *ranchería* we gave the name of San Feliz de Balois, because here I said the mass of the glorious saint. Through the interpreters whom we brought in our following we made them some talks on our holy faith, which were well received by the natives. Very many people were present from all the surrounding country, and to their principal chiefs we gave justices' staves, and to the principal one of all the nation we gave a captain's staff. We made a decent little house or bower in a pleasant field of maize, which they had just gathered, for here begin very fertile lands, well cultivated, and very good pasturage.

The natives greatly wondered at many of our things, for they had never seen nor heard of them. They wondered much at the vestment in which mass is said, and at its curious sort of embroidery representing spring, and its skillfully woven flowers of different beautiful colors; and they would ask us to keep it on so that those who continually came to visit us might have the pleasure of seeing it. Also, it was a matter of much astonishment to them to see our pack-animals and mounts, for they had never seen horses or mules or heard of them. And when the Yumas and Pimas who came with us said to

them that our horses could run faster than the most fleet-footed natives, they did not believe it, and it was necessary to put it to the test. Thereupon a cowboy from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores saddled a horse and seven or eight of the most fleet-footed Quiquima runners set out, and although the cowboy at first purposely let them get a little ahead, and they were very gleeful thereat, he afterwards left them far behind and very much astonished and amazed.

This afternoon the Coanopa⁴³⁰ nation came also, from the north and from the northwest, with many provisions, maize, beans, pumpkins, and various other gifts, greatly desiring our trade, our friendship, and our holy faith, as a result of the message which these days and months past they had received.

20. On the twentieth we set out from San Feliz, continuing our course to the southwest, down the river, to go to see the many other rancherías of the Quiquima nation, and to cross this very large Rio Grande, or Rio del Norte, more than five hundred souls accompanying us, Quiquimas, Yumas, and Pimas. After a five leagues' journey we arrived at the crossing, where the two banks were crowded with people. All of them at once brought us abundant provisions, and they made us a decent little house on this side; for we determined to cross the river the following day, God willing. The people on the other bank and from the west swam across to this one on the east, bringing us their provisions in their baskets,⁴³¹ which were so large that each would hold a *fanega* and more of maize or beans. And they made them float on the water of the quiet, gentle river, after

⁴³⁰ Ortega omits mention of this tribe here (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 298). They were the Cócopa, apparently.

⁴³¹ *Coritas*. Ortega calls them *bateas*, a word meaning troughs (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 298).

the fashion of and in imitation of little canoes. All these Quiquima natives showed themselves most affectionate toward us, in particular their most friendly captain, especially in opening for us some good, and straight, and short roads through the thickets of the abundant and very dense woods, which were on these most fertile banks.

CHAPTER V. I CROSSED THE VERY LARGE VOLUMED RIO COLORADO, OR RIO DEL NORTE, ON A RAFT, WITH A SERVANT, AND PENETRATED TO THE WESTWARD THREE LEAGUES, THROUGH MANY RANCHERIAS AND THROUGH VERY FERTILE AND PLEASANT CHAMPAIGNS

NOVEMBER 21, 1701. On November the twenty-first, day of the Presentation of most holy Mary, our Lady, almost at midday, having in the morning carried some long and dry timbers from the little wood very near by, the same captain of the Quiquimas greatly aiding us personally therein, and lashing them together very securely and making a good raft with some ropes of *esmi-quilpa* which we had brought for this purpose, we crossed in it this very large volumed Rio Colorado, which is probably about two hundred *varas* wide, and did not touch the bottom except at the two banks. We intended to take two or three horses over, also, but when they put the first horse in the river at a bad place, where he was mired, he was frightened, and we left him with the rest, and only the governor of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores crossed with me, in company with the many Quiquimas, the captain of the Quiquima nation aiding them in keeping the raft afloat. In order that I might not wet my feet, I accepted the large basket in which they wished me to cross, and placing it and fastening it upon the raft, I seated myself in it and

crossed very comfortably and very pleasantly, without the least risk, taking with me only my breviary, some trifles, and a blanket in which to sleep, and afterwards some branches of broom weed which I wrapped up in my bandana to serve me as a pillow.

As we crossed the river many more people came to us and there were dances and entertainments after their fashion. I preached to them through an interpreter, here and on the road, and in the afternoon, when, after about three leagues' journey, we arrived at the house of the captain of the nation.⁴³² In all parts the word of God and the Christian doctrine were well received. All the road was full of small but very continuous rancherías, with very many people, very affable, very well featured, and somewhat whiter than the rest of the Indians. All this road was through a veritable campaign of most fertile lands, of most beautiful corn-fields very well cultivated with abundant crops of maize, beans, and pumpkins, and with very large drying-places for the drying of pumpkins, for this kind lasts them afterwards all the year.

When, two hours before sunset, we arrived at the ranchería and house of the captain, the captain of the neighboring Cutgana⁴³³ nation came also to see us, with a great following of people from the north and from the west, and with various gifts, and in particular with many blue shells from the opposite coast of California, and from the other or South Sea, giving us very detailed information in regard to them, and saying that they were not more than eight or ten days' journey to the westward, and that the Sea of California ended a day's journey farther to the south than where we were,

⁴³² Ortega (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 298) says, "house of the Quiquima captain."

⁴³³ Ortega says Cuteana (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 298).

this very large volumed Rio Colorado and two others emptying at its head. I asked them also about everything farther on, particularly toward the west and south, and by what way a road could be found to go at the proper time to trade with the other fathers and Spaniards of Loreto Concho, in twenty-six degrees latitude, for, according to a fair estimate they could not now be more than one hundred and twenty-five leagues from these our districts where we were. The captain of these Quiquimas called for me and brought an Indian of the new Hogiopa⁴³⁴ nation, which is the one that comes next towards the south; and he having given us some account of his new people and of some stopping-places on the road which led to this presidio, I sent friendly messages to all those natives, saying that, God willing, on another occasion I should try to go also to those their lands. Besides, I sent them some messages in regard to Christian doctrine, and said that the purpose of our expeditions was the salvation of their souls, etc. And we left partially established some general peace-agreements among the Yumas, Pimas, Quiquimas, Cut-ganes, Hogiopas, and other nations, in order that all in their time might be very friendly and good Christians. I slept in a little house which they had made me, and almost all night they kept talking among themselves in regard to their very earnest desire to embrace our friendship and our holy faith.

⁴³⁴ Ortega (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 298) renders this Ojiopas. The Cócopa, one of the principal Yuman tribes on the lower Colorado. Kino is evidently the only one who calls them by this name, as it is not given in Hodge's synonymy (*Handbook*, vol. i, 318). In 1605 they lived in nine villages five leagues above the mouth of the Colorado, in Lower California.

CHAPTER VI. HAVING SEEN THE LAND-PASSAGE
TO CALIFORNIA, WE TURN BACK FOR NUESTRA
SEÑORA DE LOS DOLORES. THEY GIVE US IN-
FANTS TO BAPTIZE, AND WE ARRIVE IN
SAFETY AT SAN MARCELO

NOVEMBER 22, 1701. Having left a variety of good advice for these natives, the Quiquimas and Cutganes, and a letter for the father rector, Juan Maria de Salvatierra, which the captain of the Quiquimas charged himself with carrying as much farther south as he could, I determined to turn back for my district of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. First, so as not to be lacking in its administration. Secondly, because I was uneasy about the Spaniard who had turned back on the way. Thirdly, because now, thanks to our Lord, already this much disputed but now very certain land route to California had been discovered, for the sea did not ascend to this latitude of thirty-two degrees and its head ended ten leagues farther to the south and southwest.

We returned, then, through these many rancherías, and continuous pleasant campaigns of La Presentacion, for we gave them this name because of having discovered them the day of the Presentation of our Lady. They gave me two very sick infants to baptize, one of whom was called Thyrso Gonzalez, and the other Francisco Xavier Eusebio.

In all these pleasant and continuous rancherías there were all this morning many parties and dances, and songs and feasts, with a representation, or dialogue, and, as it were, a little comedy, by the very friendly natives, to the great joy of all. In these festivities we spent all the morning, and I came as far as the river, which I crossed on the raft used the day before, the cap-

tain of the Quiquimas and the captain of the Cutganes with many other people towing it over. I came in time to say mass at our booth, as a thank-offering for so many celestial favors of our Lord, of most holy Mary, and of San Francisco Xavier. In the afternoon I returned to San Feliz, with more than two hundred Pimas and Yumas; and although we all carried as many provisions as we could, so abundant were the maize and the beans and the pumpkins, dried and fresh, which the very friendly Quiquimas gave us, that the more than two hundred Pimas and Yumas could not load and carry it all.

23. On the twenty-third I arrived at the confluence of the rivers and at San Dionisio.

24, 25, and 26. On the twenty-fourth we arrived at San Pedro of the Yumas; on the twenty-fifth at Agua Escondida; on the twenty-sixth at midday at the tank of La Luna,⁴³⁵ where all the afternoon we opened an impassable road through very sharp stones and rocks where animals had never been able to ascend to drink water, so that today all ascended to drink. And afterwards, an hour before sunset and in the night, we travelled five leagues more, so that the horses might have good pasturage.

⁴³⁵ Apparently modern Tinaja del Tule, but possibly Tinajas del Cerro de la Cabeza Prieta. The former are described and pictured by Lumholtz (*op. cit.*, 237, 240), and the latter by the Boundary Commission as follows: "About one-fourth of a mile east of the summit of the Cerro de la Cabeza Prieta, in a deep, rocky cañon, are a number of natural tanks, worn in the rocks and filled by the rains. These tanks when full contain about 5,000 gallons of water, all of which is seldom exhausted, by evaporation alone, before another rain fills them. These tanks are known as the 'Tinajas del Cerro de la Cabeza Prieta,' but were never much used by travelers, as they were off the road." Their place has been taken by the Tule Wells, dug after 1860 in the Tule Mountains about six miles to the southeast. *Report of the Boundary Commission* (Washington, 1898), part ii, 25.

27. On the twenty-seventh, having risen very early, after thirteen leagues of good road we arrived before midday in time to say mass, eat, and take a siesta at Carrizal, and in the afternoon, after eight leagues more, at San Marcelo del Sonoydag, where we found our relay of horses, and the lost Spaniard, who confessed that he had turned back and fled from fear of so many new and unknown people, who had come to meet us among the Quiquimas, for he was afraid that, being so numerous, they would do us some harm, but we attributed it all ⁴³⁶ to the accustomed celestial favors of our Lord, who always shelters us better than all human forces, giving us always the paternal aid and encouragement of His very divine and most merciful power.

28. On the twenty-eighth we rested at San Marcelo. We killed fresh fat meat, sowed more wheat, besides what was sown for the Church, and in the little church of Nuestra Señora de Loreto we taught this afternoon the Christian doctrine and the prayers, as in the old Christian pueblos.

29. On the twenty-ninth when we wished to set out we found that some horses were missing and we stayed another day.

30. On the thirtieth, having left good messages and some little gifts for the Quiquimas, and having baptized the governor of San Marcelo, who was sick, we set out almost at midday for San Rafael del Actun.

DECEMBER 1, 1701. On December first we arrived at the new well or tank which the natives had opened for us that it might afford sufficient water for the horses also; and on account of the mass of the glorious saint which I said here we named it Well of Santa Sabina.

2. On the second we arrived at San Estanislao del

⁴³⁶ *I. e.*, our safety.

Ootcam.

3. On the third at San Ambrosio del Busanic.
4. On the fourth at the little ranch of Santa Barbara.
5. On the fifth at the ranch of the new mission of San Simon y San Judas del Siboda.
6. On the sixth we rested.
- 7-8. On the seventh we arrived at Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, and on the eighth at Nuestra Señora de los Dolores.

CHAPTER VII. ACCOUNTS OF THIS EXPEDITION
ARE GIVEN TO VARIOUS PERSONS, IN PARTICULAR
TO THE FATHER VISITOR, ANTONIO
LEAL, IN THE FOLLOWING LETTER

I have just arrived in safety, thanks be to the Lord, from my peregrination or expedition by terra firma to California, and in going and return, in one month and five days, from November 3 to December 8, I have traveled four hundred-odd leagues. I reached a point thirty leagues distant from California, and crossed the Rio Grande de Hyla, and the very large Rio Colorado, or Rio del Norte, on a raft, at latitude thirty-two degrees.

Through this expedition, thanks to His Divine Majesty, and through other talks, or messages, and little gifts which I had sent them the year before, and on several other occasions, there remain reduced to our friendship and with the desire to receive our holy faith, the Quiquima, Cutgana, and other nations, with more than ten thousand souls, who have very rich and very fertile lands. They gave me great quantities of their provisions, and so much of their maize, beans, and pumpkins, that I could not use nor load it nor carry it with us, neither I and my servants nor the more than

two hundred Pimas and Yumas who went with me to the said Quiquimas.

From there I wrote to Father Rector Juan Maria de Salvatierra at Loreto Concho a letter which the same captain of the Quiquimas charged himself with carrying farther inland toward the south. I bring with me not a few blue shells from the opposite coast of California which these Quiquimas gave me, with the detailed information that the said opposite coast and the sea of the south, by which the China ship is accustomed to come every year, is not more than seven or eight days' journey from the stopping-places or rancherías by which I went in this expedition.

Therefore, by the Divine Grace, in His time the commerce of the said China ships with this kingdom of Nueva Biscaya may be opened, to avoid the very circuitous and costly transportation of the very many goods which it carries to Acapulco by sea and from Acapulco to Mexico, and from Mexico to this Nueva Biscaya and the provinces of Sonora and Cinaloa, etc., by land, matters concerning which, as the Señor Marques de Buena Vista intimated to me in Mexico, there has been a discussion in the Royal Council.

And at the same time, through this port which can be provided for the above mentioned galleon from China, the lives of many of its sailors who every year are accustomed to fall sick and die from the painful disease of scurvy can be saved, since with fresh food they are easily cured and freed from this evil, for the disease originates from dried and salty foods which are dried and salty and stale from their long voyage.

To the above mentioned Quiquima nation succeeds the new Hogiopa nation. Now that some of them have come to see me, although they speak a different language, through the Christian talks and messages which

I have sent on to them beforehand, with the favor of the Lord, on the next occasion I shall have the road and way to them wide open and, through them, very far inland, and toward Loreto Concho, where live Father Rector Juan Maria de Salvatierra, and the two other fathers with the sixteen soldiers, for I consider that I was not more than one hundred and twenty-five leagues, more or less, from their reverences. And as from these things might result the conversion and salvation of very many souls and important service to both majesties, I commend it all strongly to the holy sacrifices of your Reverence, whose life may our Lord preserve as I desire. Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, December 8, 1701. Your Reverence's obedient servant,

EUSEBIO FRANCISCO KINO.

CHAPTER VIII. LETTERS FROM THREE FATHER RECTORS IN REPLY TO THE NEWS IN MY LETTERS IN REGARD TO THIS MY EXPEDITION

The father rector, Adamo Gilg, on December fifteenth wrote me the following:

I thank your Reverence for the very great pleasure which you gave me with the report and account of your apostolic journey and happy return *Ex transitu Felici Maris Rubri. Felix omen pro Terra Promissiones Patrum Californiensium. Faxit Deus ut novus rex Hispaniæ nostris conatibus faveat!*⁴³⁷ The wars so kindled in Europe on account of a handful of land will perhaps not allow much thought in regard to the progress of the faith.

Thus far the father rector of this mission and rectorate of San Francisco Xavier, comparing this my expedition and journey and my having been able to cross the Rio Colorado and the Sea of California at its head to the

⁴³⁷ "From the successful passage of the Red Sea [we take] a happy omen for the promised land of the California fathers. May God grant that the new king of Spain will favor our endeavors." Philip V became King of Spain in 1700.

crossing of the Red Sea, for some cosmographers have named this Sea of California the Red Sea.

But extremely, and more than all others, with His ardent apostolic holy zeal for the good of souls, was Father Rector Juan Maria de Salvatierra rejoiced, with the other fathers of California, and the soldiers. Most gladly would his Reverence give this news to our Father General Thyrso Gonzalez, thanking me profusely for my labors, for he is pleased to call them "glorious," and encourages me, as always, to continue in so profitable an enterprise and so worthy of our holy Institute as the seeking of souls for Heaven and the conquering of the difficulties of the accustomed obstacles, opposition, etc.

Equally rejoiced at the news was the father rector of Oposura, Manual Gonzalez, for a little afterward his Reverence wrote me that he would be glad to go with me on another expedition, so that together we might go even further, and if it were possible, even to where the fathers of California were, in Loreto Concho. And we did make this expedition, which is related in the following book and year, 1702.

General Jacinto de Fuenzaldaña,⁴³⁸ the present captain for life of the flying company of this province, spoke of the very great joy which he had felt in hearing that so fortunately we had crossed over the very large and populous Rio Colorado, making it possible to aid at closer range the new conversions of California, and he offered to coöperate in discoveries so blessed, in so far as he should be needed.⁴³⁹

⁴³⁸ The passages forming the remainder of this chapter were originally placed in the previous Book ii, Chapter 12, page 302. On the margin of this paragraph in the original are the words "To be placed in *entrada* of November."

⁴³⁹ See footnote 420, which states that Kino had to go to the Colorado alone because of the change of commanders.

General Juan Fernandes de la Fuente,⁴⁴⁰ captain of the Presidio of Janos and alcalde mayor of Casas Grandes, on the thirty-first of August wrote me the following:

I thank your Reverence for the news of your peregrinations, made with the sole purpose of reducing to our holy faith and to the royal obedience so great a number of souls as you have discovered in your journeys so remote, and opening the light of the Gospel to so great a number of heathen, who hitherto were blind in their idolatries. And you alone have tried, with the Christian and Catholic zeal of an apostolic minister, in imitation of San Francisco Xavier, to draw them with your exemplary life and doctrine to the true knowledge. May God give you very perfect health and His Divine aid, that in all you may see your great work rewarded, and that you may easily succeed in coming to join in the Californias with our reverend fathers Juan Maria de Salvatierra and Francisco Maria Picolo, and all those poor people to whom the knowledge that they can transport and trade by land with more security than by sea will be of great comfort, for this will be a great thing. And all will be due to your Reverence, who, I hope, will have from God and from his most holy Mother the assistance and rewards of glory and honor which your Lordship so deserves.

No one more than I desires for you all good fortune, and I wish I were nearer in order to serve your Reverence in whatever way might be in my power, for it is only my duty, from my great obligation. I have no doubt that opposition will be forthcoming, and that there will be many to oppose the good work of your Reverence, because the Devil is laying up against you that which he is losing, and must seek means to ruin your Reverence. In regard to the Pimas, I have noted much loyalty in them, and with time and good teaching they will be very perfect Christians and loyal vassals of his Majesty. And since they are steadfast in peace and friendship for us we may promise ourselves very good fortune and may hope that by means

⁴⁴⁰ Note in the original: "After expedition VI, of November." See page

of them will be discovered many nations and lands of those which your Reverence has found.

Thus far, with many other things besides, General Juan Fernandez de la Fuente. And now at the end of May, 1705, just when I am writing this chapter⁴⁴¹ (finding myself with a thousand occupations, what with the construction of churches and with the coming of very many natives from the north and from the west and from the northwest from a distance of more than one hundred and seventy leagues, as I shall say in the proper place) I receive the following very zealous and very affectionate letter from the Señor oidor and fiscal of his royal Majesty in the Royal Audiencia of Guadalajara, Don Joseph de Miranda Villa Ysan, dated the thirty-first of March:

May God our Lord bring reapers to aid in so abundant a harvest. The hopes that your Reverence may make a journey to Mexico have comforted me greatly. I imagine I see you there already, as on the former occasion, like a lightning-flash, quick and refulgent, but without destruction, although this you effect in the campaign against the Devil under the banners of his wretched heathendom, which God has just snatched from his claws in those provinces, for there is where we can say with David, on account of your Reverence, *Ascensiones in corde suo disposuit in loco ubi posuisti*.⁴⁴² So I expressed it, when, seeing your Reverence in the character of first commissioner to California, I read it and saw you appointed champion and associate of my well beloved Father Juan Maria de Salvatierra for the understaking.⁴⁴³ But God disposes that you do not go from those provinces, perhaps because from there, without losing that renown, you are gaining souls

⁴⁴¹ This was formerly in Book II, Chapter 12. See *ante*, page 302.

⁴⁴² "In his heart he hath disposed to ascend by steps in the place where Thou has set him" (*Psalms* lxxxiii, 6, 7). Kino, quoting from memory, uses *in loco ubi posuisti* instead of the scriptural *in loco quem posuit* "in the place which he hath set."

⁴⁴³ The reference is to the appointment of Kino as companion of Salvatierra to go to California in 1697.

for California by means of the well-founded information in regard to the route to it by land. Moreover, the first office of General Don Jasinto may have failed,⁴⁴⁴ perhaps, because God disposed that he be a co-worker with your Reverence in these newest conversions. Those who command in any of those parts will incline their operations and thoughts especially to this, and they would make easier the accomplishment of so high a purpose, because the truth of the legal maxim, *Singula, quæ non possent, collecta iuuant*⁴⁴⁵ would be seen divinely manifested. But the pity is that the sower of darnel even in the rooted crops more frequently exemplifies the opposite maxim, *Singuli qui non possent, collecti impediunt*.⁴⁴⁶

Thus far the Señor oidor fiscal of his royal Majesty, Don Joseph de Miranda y Villaysan.

⁴⁴⁴ The reference is to General Jacinto de Fuensaldaña.

⁴⁴⁵ "What individual things can not do separately united they help." For *iuuant* read modern *juvant*.

⁴⁴⁶ "What individual men can not do, united they impede."

BOOK IV. EXPEDITION OF TWO HUNDRED
LEAGUES IN THE YEAR 1702, WITH THE
VERY MINUTE NEW EXPLORATION OF
THE VERY CERTAIN AND VERY EVIDENT
PASSAGE BY LAND TO CALIFORNIA, WHICH IS SEEN TO BE NOT
AN ISLAND, BUT A PENINSULA

CHAPTER I. DOUBTS AND CONTROVERSIES WHICH
FOR SO MANY YEARS HAVE EXISTED IN REGARD
TO WHETHER CALIFORNIA IS CONTINENTAL,
OR TERRA FIRMA, CONTINUOUS
WITH THIS NEW SPAIN ⁴⁴⁷

1702. Some of the ancient cosmographers, although with some imperfections, delineated California as a peninsula, or an isthmus, but after the English pirate and pilot, Francis Drake, sailed on these seas, and in the bay of San Bernabe, near the cape of San Lucas of California, robbed the China ship or the Philipppines galleon, called Santa Ana, ⁴⁴⁸ he, seeing then the many currents of the Gulf of California, concluded and proclaimed as a certain thing that this Californian Gulf and sea had communication with the North Sea, and that by the former sea California was separated from all this terra firma of New Spain; and he delineated it as surrounded with seas and as an island (which would have been the greatest in the world), and he sketched, but also incorrectly, the rivers of Coral and El Tizon and

⁴⁴⁷ This chapter throws interesting light on the genesis of Kino's ideas regarding California geography.

⁴⁴⁸ Kino is mistaken here. It was Cavendish who plundered the *Santa Ana*.

Anguchi, or Buena Guia, as issuing and emptying into the said Sea of California at thirty-three, thirty-four, and thirty-five degrees of latitude, the fact being that, as with all certainty in various expeditions we have discovered, this Californian Gulf does not come up to thirty-two degrees. Therefore Drake on his return to his country misled all Europe, and almost all the cosmographers and geographers of Italy, Germany, and France, etc., delineated California as an island.⁴⁴⁹

In the celebrated University of Ingolstadt, of Bavaria, there was printed in my time a very finely executed general map of all the terrestrial world by my father master of mathematics, Father Adamo Aigentler,⁴⁵⁰ who afterwards died most gloriously in the voyage of Father Jutorchete⁴⁵¹ for the missions of the Great China, when already near Goa—in *conspectu Goa*,⁴⁵² says the narrative. That map, which I brought with me to the Indies and even to these new conversions, with its little treatise and instruction or explanation, for it is cosmographical, geographical, horological and horographical, nautical and geometrical, etc., depicts California very correctly not as an island, but as a

⁴⁴⁹ For Drake's voyage see W. S. W. Vaux, *The World encompassed by Sir Francis Drake, being his next Voyage to that to Nombre de Dios* (London, 1854). As to Drake's theories, suffice it here to say that many views attributed to Drake were fables for which he was not responsible. See Bancroft, chapter on "The Northern Mystery," in his *History of the Northwest Coast*, vol. i, chap. 2.

⁴⁵⁰ Aigenler, Adam, 1635-1673, praeses. *Tabula geographicohorologa universalis, problematis cosmographicis, astronomicis, geographicis, gnomonicis, geometricis illustrata, et una cum succincta methodo quaslibet mappas geographicas delineandi. Publico certamini proposita . . . Praeside Adamo Aigenler . . . defendente Joanne Francisco Staudhamer . . . Ingolstadii, typis Ionnis Ostermayri, 1668. 1 p. l, 38, (32) p. fold. map, diagr. 18cm. Appended: "Tabula latitudinum et longitudinum nova auctore R. P. Ioan, Bapt. Ricciolio . . . lib. 9 Geographiae Reformatæ c. 4."*

⁴⁵¹ Stöcklein lists in his *Rerum Memorabilium* neither Aigentler nor Jutorchete.

⁴⁵² "In sight of Goa."

peninsula. I studied the mathematical sciences in the University of Ingolstadt and in that of Freiburg, and I taught them afterwards according to our routine,⁴⁵³ and by order of my superiors had to teach and lecture on them in public, so that in the fourth year of theology I took orders as a priest. But, although I discussed various mathematical sciences with his Lordship the Duke of Bavaria, who rules today, and with his Lordship his father, when their highnesses both together, in the year 1676, came from his Electoral Court of Munich⁴⁵⁴ to see that great fortification, city, and university of Ingolstadt, and our greatest college of that city and province of Bavaria in Upper Germany, and was invited to give courses in these sciences, arts, and occupations there in Europe, yet I was always more inclined and I urged with the higher officials in Rome that I should come rather to teach the Christian doctrines and evangelical truths of our holy Catholic faith to these poor heathen, so much in need, that by us they might be saved and might help us to praise our most merciful God through all eternity.

In this belief that California was a peninsula and not an island I came to these West Indies, and when I arrived at Mexico I was assigned by the Father Provincial Bernardo Pardo as missionary and royal cosmographer⁴⁵⁵ of California, and, trying to emerge from the doubts which attended these matters, I changed my position; first, because I read the account of the Adelantado of New Mexico, Don Juan de Oñate, who, setting out from the villa of Santa Fe of New Mexico and travelling about one hundred leagues to the westward,

⁴⁵³ *Pro rutiis de los nuestros.*

⁴⁵⁴ Ferdinand was Elector of Bavaria from 1651 to 1679; Maximilian Emanuel from 1679 to 1726.

⁴⁵⁵ This passage indicates the intelligence with which Kino went about the task of cosmographer of the California expedition.

came to the Moquis, and, as the account says, to the sea, and this in latitude thirty-seven degrees. Second, because other accounts by others said the same thing. Third, because many other maps, and the principal modern cosmographers of Germany, Flanders, Italy, and France, etc., said the same, and that California was an island;⁴⁵⁶ and I made copies of these very great new maps from the palace of Mexico, borrowing and taking them for this purpose to the Colegio Maximo of San Pedro y San Pablo.⁴⁵⁷ Fourth, because the many currents from north to south which I experienced in the voyages which I made in the Gulf of California were so continuous and at times so strong that it seemed as if the sea communicated with that of the north, and inclined me to the opinion that California was an island; and as such I sketched it in some of my maps.

But now already, thanks to His Divine Majesty, with various expeditions, and three in particular, of one hundred and fifty, one hundred and seventy, and two hundred leagues, which I have made from here to the north of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, I have discovered with all minute certainty and evidence, with mariner's compass and astrolabe in my hands, that California is not an island but a peninsula, or isthmus, and that in thirty-two degrees of latitude there is a passage by land to California, and that only to about that point comes the

⁴⁵⁶ A Dutch map published in 1624-1625 (Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i, 169); Briggs, map of 1625, and Hondiu's map of 1628 (Richman, *California under Spain and Mexico, 1535-1847*, 380) all show California as an island. D'Aoity's map of 1637 (Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i, 176), however, shows that the insular theory was not accepted by all. Harris's map of 1705, based on explorations along the California coast (Bancroft, *ibid.*, 196-197) shows California as an island.

⁴⁵⁷ The church of the Colegio Máximo was dedicated in 1603, and at that time was the most sumptuous in Mexico (Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, vol. iii, 118; Alegre, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesus en Nueva-España*, vol. i, 408).

head of the Sea of California, the large volumed rivers which in the following chapters will be mentioned emptying into the head.

CHAPTER II. THE EXPEDITION OF TWO HUNDRED AND MORE LEAGUES IS UNDERTAKEN WITH FATHER RECTOR MANUEL GONZALEZ TO THE QUIQUIMAS, FROM THE FIFTH OF FEBRUARY TO THE MIDDLE OF APRIL, 1702, AND AFTER THE FIRST NINETY LEAGUES' JOURNEY WE ARRIVE AT SAN MARCELO DEL SONOYDAG ⁴⁵⁸

1702. Having received the desired report of my preceding expeditions, the father rector of Oposura, Manuel Gonzalez, who was visitor of these missions of Cinoloa and Sonora when fifteen years ago these new spiritual and temporal conquests and the new conversions of this Pimeria, etc., were begun, his Reverence, who was in poor health, was inspired to come to be an eye-witness of so many souls, so many rivers, and so large a country, etc., and, advising the present father visitor, Antonio Leal, and me, on the thirty-first of January his Reverence came from Oposura and Cumupas to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, with his servants, and with fifty mules, and with other things very useful for the expedition, which was made as the following daily account will state. ⁴⁵⁹

FEBRUARY 5, 1702. On the fifth of February we set out from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, Father

⁴⁵⁸ So far as I am aware no other diary of this journey has thus far been found. Brief accounts are given in Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i, 500; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 359; Ortega, *Apostólicos Afanes*, 301-309 ("from Kino's letter" Bancroft erroneously remarks); Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, 134-135; Venegas, *Noticia de la California*, vol. ii, 105-106. All come from Kino's Ms. directly or indirectly.

⁴⁵⁹ Father Ortega's account, the fullest thus far extant, dismisses in thirteen lines the subject matter of this chapter and the next.

Rector Manuel Gonzalez with his equipment, and I with twelve servants, a few additional loads, and eighty horses and mules.

6-7. On the sixth we left Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, and after ten leagues' journey we reached the neighborhood of the ranch of San Simon y San Judas del Siboda, where there were more than a thousand cattle and seven droves of mares belonging to the new conversions, and, arriving early the following day, we supplied ourselves with meat, fresh and dried.

8. On the eighth, after twelve leagues' journey, we arrived at Santa Barbara, where another little ranch was begun for these roads to the land passage to California Alta.

9. On the ninth we set out for San Ambrosio del Busanic, the natives having given us three infants to baptize.

10. On the tenth, on arriving very early at San Ambrosio, we found more than twenty justices, governors, and captains from the interior, who, travelling more than fifty leagues, had come out to meet us and welcome us. I talked to them in regard to the mysteries of our holy faith, and in regard to the purpose of our expedition; and as here also they were keeping for me cattle, sheep and goats, and some droves of horses, we killed three beeves for the people⁴⁶⁰ and for the journey.

11. On the eleventh we set out for San Estanislao del Ootcam, where we found more than three hundred souls, most of them from the interior, who also had come to meet us. They gave us two infants to baptize and performed for us some friendly dances and entertainments. Father Rector Manuel Gonzales was very

⁴⁶⁰ *I.e.*, for the natives.

much pleased to see these natives so jovial and so affable, and he pondered not a little on the great pity that natives so friendly had not, like the others near by, the necessary missionary fathers whom they requested, for already they had very good crops of maize, not only for themselves but also for the Church, and had provided for us a medium sized earth-covered adobe church, with its altar, in which with decency we, Father Rector Manuel Gonzales and I, said mass the day following Sunday, Septuagesima.

12. On the twelfth we set out for the tank of Santa Eulalia, day of that Saint, and having taken from San Estanislao sufficient provisions for the journey along the coast, I ordered another small ranch begun in Santa Eulalia, also.

13. On the thirteenth, the day on which was celebrated the day of this saint, we set out from the tank of Santa Eulalia, and, saying the mass of the saint, after ten leagues' journey we arrived at the tank which Father Rector Gonzales named Tank of San Vicente.

14. On the fourteenth, passing by the tank and well of Santa Sabina, after sixteen leagues' journey we arrived at the tanks of San Martin.

15. On the fifteenth we arrived at midday at San Rafael del Actun. Its natives sent to meet us with crosses and welcomed us with arches and crosses placed along the roads, and with all hospitality in the way of provisions. They gave us two little brothers to baptize, of whom one was named Manuel and the other Eusebio. Traveling today fourteen leagues, in the afternoon we arrived at San Marcelo del Sonoydag, being welcomed with all love by the more than two hundred natives who were here.

CHAPTER III. SETTING OUT FROM SAN MARCELO
DEL SONOYDAG, AFTER MORE THAN SIXTY
LEAGUES' JOURNEY WE ARRIVED AT SAN
DIONISIO AND AT THE VERY LARGE RIO
COLORADO OF THE YUMAS

FEBRUARY 16, 17, 18, 1702. We rested on February the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth at the ranch and ranchería or pueblo and very good post of San Marcelo, where we killed three fat beeves and a sheep for the journey, and where we taught the Christian doctrine and the prayers every day. They gave us two infants to baptize, and we performed a marriage ceremony *in facie Ecclesiæ*.⁴⁶¹

19. On the nineteenth, Sexagesima Sunday, we went from San Marcelo to Carrizal.

20. On the twentieth, the friendly natives having given us three infants and a sick adult to baptize, we set out, and after about fifteen leagues' journey we arrived near the tank of La Luna.

21. On the twenty-first, passing near this tank, and letting the horses drink, we arrived at the plains and the pastures near Agua Escondida.

22. On the twenty-second we set out directly for the tank of La Tinaja, and reached it after twelve leagues of very level and straight road.

23 and 24. On the twenty-third and twenty-fourth we were detained by a great cloud-burst, which much increased the stream of that tank, and we saw that it passed by some very sightly rocks which appeared to be very fine tanks made by hand and with very great art, and it seemed to the father rector that this tank with much reason should be named Aguaje de los Alquives⁴⁶²

⁴⁶¹ "Before the Church."

⁴⁶² Watering-place of the Tanks.

Today and on the two following days we saw to the westward in the afternoon the comet which was in the constellation of Aquarius.⁴⁶³

25. On the twenty-fifth, after six leagues' journey, we arrived at the Rio Grande, or Hila, and at its ranchería of San Pablo of the Yumas, who had provided for us a little house in which to live and say mass. They received us with arches and crosses placed on the road; and the father rector distributed among them almost a tierce of sugar and other gifts.

26-27. On the twenty-sixth we set out for the Rio Colorado. After going four leagues we arrived at the opening where it may be said California Alta begins,⁴⁶⁴ because its meridian passes through the middle of the head of the Sea of California. As a rain-storm again threatened, we halted near there, and the natives brought us, from various parts, quantities of very fine fresh fish and other gifts, today as well as the following day, when we were detained by the rain.

28. On the twenty-eighth we set out for San Dionisio and the confluence of the rivers.

⁴⁶³ According to Galle there were two comets in 1702, the first being visible in February and March, and in southerly regions only. The second was discovered on April 20. The former is evidently the one mentioned by Kino as visible in Arizona. According to Professor R. T. Crawford, no orbit has been computed for this comet.

⁴⁶⁴ They were now at the pass through the Gila Range. His assertion concerning the meridian was essentially correct.

CHAPTER IV. SETTING OUT FROM SAN DIONISIO
AND THE CONFLUENCE OF THE RIO COLORADO
AND THE RIO GRANDE, AFTER FIFTY LEAGUES'
JOURNEY TO THE SOUTHWEST WE ARRIVED AT
THE QUIQUIMA AND CUTGANA NATIONS,
AND AT THE MOUTH OF THE
ABOVE-MENTIONED RIVERS ⁴⁶⁵

MARCH 1, 1702. On March first, Ash Wednesday, having said mass and given ashes to all our servants, and having viewed deliberately and with great pleasure the very pleasant confluence of the rivers, Father Rector Manuel Gonzales said that one might well come from Mexico to see it on account of its very sightly groves, its copious and peaceful waters, fertile lands, etc. We set out for the southwest, or between the south and the west, a course well-known to be toward California, and even on this road we found a great number of affable Yumas, in particular at the great *ranchería* of Santa Ysabel.

2. On the second, passing on, and leaving at the right the *rancherías* of San Felis and La Presentacion and the crossing where in the preceding month of November I had passed the Rio Colorado on a raft, and its very rich lands, we arrived at the *ranchería* of San Rodesindo,⁴⁶⁶ where many Quiquimas awaited us with many of their provisions. They gave us in abundance maize, beans, dried pumpkins, fish, etc., and we in return gave them some of our trifles and little gifts, teaching them the Word of God and Christian doctrine, through interpreters, which was very well received.

3. On the third we rested and arranged for the descent to the very disemboguement of these rivers in the

⁴⁶⁵ At this point Ortega's account becomes fairly full and satisfactory (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 301).

⁴⁶⁶ Ortega does not note that they had now passed the place where Kino had previously crossed the river.

sea. Many natives came to see us from various parts, invited by the captain of the Quiquimas and by the captain of the Cutganes. And because the sick infant, Thyrso Gonzales, whom I had baptized in the preceding November, was now very well, fine, and fat, his mother, and very many other mothers also, brought me their infants and gave them to me, begging me to baptize them too, although I put them off for a better season. Father Rector Manuel Gonzales with his great charity gave to these very friendly natives even his own shirts, white handkerchiefs, generous handfuls of chocolate, and the shoes which he wore.

LATITUDE THIRTY-ONE AND A HALF DEGREES. At mid-day we took the altitude of the sun with the astrolabe, and found it to be fifty-two degrees, which, adding to it the six and a half of south declination of that day, made fifty-eight degrees and a half. The complement of ninety degrees is thirty-one degrees and a half, and this was the altitude of the pole or geographical latitude in which we found ourselves.⁴⁶⁷

4-5. On the fourth we arrived at the rancherias of San Casimiro.⁴⁶⁸ On the fifth we descended to the bayous of the sea directly to the southward, finding in all these very many natives, Quiquimas, Cutganes, and Hogiopas,⁴⁶⁹ who had come from the west and from the southwest, great affability and love and affection. We inquired about various nations, and about various hills, and about all the rivers of the west, and, besides, about the very large Rio Colorado which, joined with the Rio Grande or Rio de Hila, empties into the head of the

⁴⁶⁷ This is what Kino says. The complement of ninety degree is zero. He means that the complement of $58\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, to make 90° , is $31\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$.

⁴⁶⁸ Ortega (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 302) says that on the fourth they went directly south to San Casimiro, but the diary says that it was on the fifth that they went directly south.

⁴⁶⁹ The Cócopas.

Sea of California on the west side. Near there also empty the Rio Azul, which comes from the north, and the Rio Amarillo, which comes from the northwest, as the Rio Colorado from the northeast and the Rio Grande, or Rio de Hila, from the east, as may be seen in the maps of this treatise.⁴⁷⁰

5. On the fifth in the afternoon we gave four justice's staffs, with good teachings, to those who had come from the west, and they brought us so much fish that we could no longer accept it.

6. On the sixth we made all possible efforts to cross the Rio Colorado, but the many bogs hindered our attempt, because it had rained these days.

7. On the seventh Father Rector Manuel Gonzales descended to the very mouth and to the sea by a westward course, and I, having collected information for us concerning all these natives of the west, and sent my messages ahead to those on the other bank of the river, descended in the afternoon, having been detained by the continuous messages which they were sending me.⁴⁷¹

8. On the eighth more than three hundred souls from the other bank of the very large volumed Rio Colorado having come to see us, swimming across, small and great, with many of their provisions, and with blue shells from the opposite coast, urged us to cross over to see their good lands and the rest of their numerous and amiable people. But, as the illness and painful flux of the father rector troubled him more and more each day, we determined not to cross, and consoled the natives with good words, saying that, God willing, we would try to comply with their friendly de-

⁴⁷⁰ From this passage it is inferred that Kino prepared a map for this treatise which differs from his published map of 1705.

⁴⁷¹ Ortega omits the details of this paragraph.

sires on another occasion, and, sending them away with various gifts, we returned to San Casimiro.⁴⁷²

9. On the ninth, so much were we moved by the petitions and desires of the natives on the other bank of the river, and so great was our desire to cross to see the Rio Amarillo, and even to cross to the Sea of the West, or sea of the opposite coast, or South Sea, since some assured us that it was not more than eight or nine days distant, and since they brought us some little pots, and other gifts which before had been brought from the opposite coast, I determined to descend another time to the mouth and with the natives to cross the Rio Colorado, and for this purpose we provided ourselves with the necessary provisions and with the best horses, etc.

10. On the tenth we descended again⁴⁷³ to the mouth, taking and joining many dry poles to make a very great raft on which to cross the very large volumed and very wide Rio Colorado and Rio Grande de Hila and Rio Azul, which in the estuary all made a body of peaceful waters. At this the natives all now greatly rejoiced, in particular those on the west bank, who again had come to meet us in large numbers, great and small. But as his painful flux troubled the father rector seriously, and as we found very difficult the crossing of the horses, because of the enormous bogs on the banks of the very large volumed river, we determined to defer this crossing for another and more opportune occasion, and again we consoled the natives as best we could, passing the night with them at the estuary, where the open sea came very near to our beds. This night the father rector's saddle horse was lost, but

⁴⁷² Ortega does not note the return to San Casimiro, except by implication.

⁴⁷³ Ortega (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 302) is confused regarding this second descent to the mouth and Bancroft omits it entirely.

the natives found it, tied it up, and gave it grass and a pot of water, and came to tell us to come for it.

11. On the eleventh I said the mass of Santa Francisca Romana. The sun rose over the head of the Sea of California, proof most evident that we were now in California; and, besides, we saw most plainly more than thirty leagues of continuous land to the south, and as many more to the west, and as many more to the north, without the least sign of any sea except that which lay to the eastward of us.

CHAPTER V. HAVING GONE BEYOND AND LEFT THE SEA OF CALIFORNIA TO THE EASTWARD, AND HAVING ENTERED ABOUT TWENTY-FIVE LEAGUES FARTHER THAN IN THE PRECEDING JOURNEYS ⁴⁷⁴ INLAND, WE TURNED BACK TO OUR MISSIONS AND THE PROVINCE OF SONORA; AND AFTER GOING MORE THAN ONE HUNDRED AND TEN LEAGUES, WE ARRIVED AT SAN MARCELO

MARCH 12, 1702. Being on the point of returning to Sonora, doubt arose as to whether we should return by the same route which we had taken to go to California, or by another, a new and straighter road, directly to the east, in order to come out at San Marcelo by the great sandy beach, round which it was sixty leagues; for, although some said that this road could not be traveled for lack of water and pasturage, we knew that on that sandy beach the Pimas of San Marcelo and the Quiquimas had assembled the year before when they had made their peace-agreements; and some persons told us that in that beach there was a canebrake with sufficient water and pasturage. Therefore, on March 12 we set out on the new road, but having travelled about eighteen leagues over most difficult sand

⁴⁷⁴ This statement gives a clue to the place of the crossing made by Kino in the previous journey.

dunes and with continuous, violent, and most pestiferous wind, during the whole day we found neither a drop of water nor the least bit of pasturage. And although in the afternoon we found some people, they themselves were going about as if lost and seeking water, but without finding it; [13, 14] and after passing a very toilsome night, we found ourselves obliged, with much more trouble, to return the following day, March 13, to San Casimiro, and to the Colorado River, where the friendly Quiquima natives relieved us with a refreshment of their own provisions, although our relay was not able to arrive until the next day, March 14.⁴⁷⁵

15. On the fifteenth we set out up the river toward Santa Ysabel and San Dionisio, through which we had come, and at the camp of Los Sauzes a Coanopa overtook us with provisions which the Coanopas sent us.

17, 19, 20, 21. On the seventeenth we arrived at San Pablo of the Yumas; on the eighteenth at the Alquives; on the nineteenth at the plains of El Agua Escondida; on the twentieth at the tank of La Luna; and on the twenty-first at Carrizal. On setting out from the camp, Father Rector Manuel Gonzales said to me that although it was not well to believe in dreams, he could not deny that a dream, or what was apparently a dream which he had had that night, kept him very much consoled in the midst of his ills, attacks, pains, and fatigues. It was that it had been represented to his Reverence that he and I, although with very much toil yet with equal joy, were crossing, at the mouth of the Colorado River, some very extensive and beautiful plains, one of which was called San Joachin.⁴⁷⁶

⁴⁷⁵ Father Francisco Garcés in 1771 made his way across the sand dunes from the Colorado to Sonóita, and so did Lumholtz in 1910 (Bolton, "The Early Explorations of Father Garcés on the Pacific Slope," in *The Pacific Ocean in History*, 328; Lumholtz, *New Trails in Mexico*, chap. 16).

⁴⁷⁶ This interesting detail is omitted by Ortega and all others.

22. On our setting out on the twenty-second from Carrizal, the natives besought me insistently to baptize for them two sick women, which I did; and we arrived at San Marcelo, where we rested. During the three days we killed three fat beeves and two sheep; and taught the Christian doctrine, said mass in the new, neat, and well whitewashed little church or chapel of Nuestra Señora de Loreto, and did all in our power to relieve the illness of Father Rector Manuel Gonzales.

CHAPTER VI. LEAVING SAN MARCELO, AFTER ABOUT SEVENTY LEAGUES' JOURNEY WE ARRIVED AT THE NEW PUEBLO OF EL TUBUTAMA

The only grief, though a very deep one, which we suffered, was that Father Rector Manuel Gonzales, who, since leaving his college and his mission of Oposura, and even some months before, had been very ill of flux, was now so debilitated and exhausted from it that it was necessary henceforth to carry his Reverence on a litter on the shoulders of the natives. But they did it with great care and with much charity and love, as if they all were old Christians, sending through the stretch of more than seventy leagues of this extensive coast to search for and bring the most robust natives of these at times somewhat unpeopled places, until we arrived at San Estanislao, San Ambrosio del Busanic, and finally at the new pueblo of El Tubutama, where lived Father Ygnacio de Yturmendi, who, advised of our coming, with his great charity came in person some leagues to meet us, bringing some of his children and some refreshments of provisions, etc., although already three days before, at the tank of Santa Sabina, Father Rector Manuel Gonzales had been so debilitated and so nearly unconscious that, since his Reverence had

asked me, I had had to administer the sacrament to him, giving him communion as *viaticum*.

From El Tubutama, and even before reaching there, we sent promptly to bring from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, Cucurpe, the Valle de Sonora, and Oposura, persons skilled in curing, with all possible remedies for so painful an illness. But about ten days afterward His Divine Majesty saw fit to take His great servant, very fervid worker in the vineyard of the Lord, and very zealous minister for the greater glory of God and for the good of souls, to Himself and to the heavenly rest which he had so deserved by his talents, his works so heroic, and his learning and his religious truths so exalted, as other better pens will be able to relate in a very long letter of edification.⁴⁷⁷

CHAPTER VII. MANY OTHER THINGS RELATING TO THIS ABOVE-MENTIONED JOURNEY INLAND CAN BE DRAWN FROM THE LONG LETTER WHICH I WROTE TO THE FATHER VISITOR, WITH THE CERTIFICATION OF THE SEÑOR ALCALDE MAYOR MADE IN ORDER THAT I MIGHT GO TO MEXICO. DIVIDED INTO SIX CHAPTERS,⁴⁷⁸
IT IS AS FOLLOWS

MY FATHER VISITOR ANTONIO LEAL, *Pax Christi*: I have just arrived in safety, thank God, from the journey inland to the Quiquimas of California, at this house of your Reverence and of Our Lady of Sorrows. And I again thank your Reverence very much for your last greatly esteemed letter, which I received

⁴⁷⁷ Bancroft (*North Mexican States*, 500) says that Father González died at San Ignacio. I do not know where he gets this information. Ortega (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 303) implies that he died at Tubutama and Alegre (*Historia*, vol. iii, 135) distinctly says so. These pages confirm that view.

⁴⁷⁸ In all probability it was not so divided originally, but was cut into chapters for incorporation in this book.

on setting out from this district for that journey on February 5, in the very agreeable company of my Father Rector Manuel Gonzalez, in which letter your Reverence said for our great comfort in all things that this journey inland was going to bring it about, that, by divine grace, these extensive nations of this mainland to the northwest, north, and west should all be converted to our holy Faith. May his divine Majesty so grant it.

On the second of this month of April, on the return from the journey inland, at San Estanislao del Ootcam, forty-seven leagues from here, I received a letter from Father Ygnacio de Yturmendi, written at the pueblo of El Tubutama, in which his Reverence told me that on account of its having been rumored as certain that Father Manuel Gonzales and I and our people had been drowned in the Rio Grande,⁴⁷⁹ the masses and suffrages, as they are called in our Society, already had been said for us. But, thanks to his divine Majesty, without experiencing any dangers of this sort, travelling safely by these coasts, our way and course being almost always to the northwest, between north and west, on March 1, after a journey of one hundred and sixty leagues from here, we arrived in time to keep Ash Wednesday in California, at the confluence of the two large rivers, the Rio Grande de Hila and the Rio Grande del Colorado. And although in this journey inland we did not cross these rivers, on account of the bogs and the spring rains, we descended to their mouth, a journey of more than forty leagues to the southwest, or between south and west. And there came to see us, swimming across the river in different parts, about four thousand very

⁴⁷⁹ Ortega at this point states that on April 2 Kino wrote to his superior to dispel those stories, but by hasty reading he confused the letter received on April 2 with the present one written on April 8 (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 304).

affable, docile, and friendly Indians—Yumas, Coanopas, Cutganes, and Quiquimas—with much affection bringing us of their provisions, consisting of maize, beans, pumpkins, and fish, in abundance.

And in this journey inland, as in my preceding one of the past month of November, they received the word of God with so much appreciation that they gave me many infants to baptize. Of the two little ones whom I had baptized in the preceding journey inland, this time the mother of one, called Thyrso Gonzales, brought him to me, for, having recovered, he was fat and healthy. Many other mothers also brought me their children, asking me to baptize them, but I did not baptize them, nor many adults who in these journeys after the talks on Christian doctrine which I made them asked me for holy baptism; for I told them that instruction was first necessary. Therefore eight of these adults, among them the principal men, have now come with me to be instructed here during this Holy Week and Easter, some of them travelling for this purpose more than two hundred leagues.

Although in going and returning he was very ill of his painful flux and hemorrhoids, Father Rector Manuel Gonzales, with the great charity which was characteristic of him gave those poor natives many gifts, and even a great part of his own clothing and undergarments, etc. When on March 8 his Reverence descended and arrived first at the estuary, very early in the morning, at twilight, there came to see his Reverence, swimming across, more than two hundred Indians, great and small, and they soon brought him many of their eatables as a present, with much friendliness and affection. His Reverence is convalescing at the pueblo of El Tubutama.

From this estuary and in different places we learned and even saw that there were two other large rivers which emptied at the head of this Sea of California. One, which comes from the north, the natives called Rio Azul, and the other, which comes from the northwest, they called the Rio Amarillo. Also, we learned and saw that the very large volumed Colorado River, a few leagues below its confluence with the Rio Grande or Rio de Hila, divides again into very large branches, and with them makes a great island more than fifty leagues around with very fertile lands and very good plains.⁴⁸⁰

In this journey inland we have been very much aided by the good equipment and the excellent servants which Father Rector Manuel Gonzales took, by the capable guides and interpreters, Pimas and Yumas, and also by the various ranches of cattle, sheep, goats, and horses which we have found in various parts of this district, in particular at San Marcelo del Sonoydag, ninety leagues from here, where, going and returning, we killed eight of the more than one hundred head of fat beeves which they are caring for, with plantings and crops of wheat and maize, and with their little white-washed adobe church of Nuestra Señora de Loreto, whence it will be easy to send on more cattle, sheep, goats, and horses to California, for the natives are so loyal that, some of our horses having been lost and having remained on the Rio Grande on the preceding journey inland, I have now found them, because they had

⁴⁸⁰ Ortega includes this information about Rio Azul and Río Amarillo, but Bancroft omits it. Ortega concludes that the Azul and the Amarillo must join the Colorado, instead of flowing into the Gulf, since between the Yaqui and the Colorado on the one side and San Lucas and the Colorado on the other no large river enters the Gulf (*Apóstólicos Afanes*, 304).

caught and taken care of them for me with all affection.⁴⁸¹

CHAPTER VIII. COGENT REASONS AND CLEAR ARGUMENTS WHICH ESTABLISH THE CERTAINTY OF THE LAND PASSAGE TO CALIFORNIA

In case there should be some incredulous persons or someone ignorant of it, the continuity of these lands with California would be rendered certain and proved by the seven following convincing reasons or arguments:

1st. Because thus I saw it on October 9, 1698, from the neighboring high mountain of Santa Clara.⁴⁸² And again in March of the past year, 1701, we saw this connection and passage by land to California, in the company of Father Rector Juan María de Salvatierra, for his Reverence came with ten soldiers and other persons to see this demonstrated, since some had contradicted us.⁴⁸³

2d. Because in four other journeys inland which I have made, travelling fifty leagues to the northwest of

⁴⁸¹ Ortega is puzzled by the conflict of evidence as to whether the Río Azul is a branch of the Gila or of the Colorado. He thinks it certain that the Río Amarillo flows into the Colorado and not into the Gulf. It is not clear to him why Kino should say that the Colorado entered the Gulf at $31\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, since in his journey with Salvatierra they were in the sand-dunes at $32\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ and were still thirty leagues from the mouth of the Colorado, and since Consag found the Colorado mouth at 33° . He can not understand how Kino reached the Colorado mouth by going west (on his last day's journey) since he had elsewhere said that it flowed south into the Gulf. It is difficult to understand how Kino saw the sun rise over thirty leagues of sea, when the Gulf runs north and south, and is not thirty leagues wide. He is puzzled to know why Kino did not mention the islands discovered by Consag, and suggests that they may have been formed by the Colorado in the ensuing forty-five years. He remarks that explorers usually record their results too briefly, and take too little time to make proper observations (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 305-307).

⁴⁸² See *ante* page 187.

⁴⁸³ See *ante*, pages 282-283.

the said hill of Santa Clara, which is near to and to the eastward of the arm and head of the Sea of California, and afterwards in going ten leagues⁴⁸⁴ more to the westward, along the Rio Grande, to where it unites with the Colorado River, and from this confluence forty leagues more to the southwest, along the same Colorado River to its mouth, no Sea of California has been found or seen, for it does not rise higher than barely to the latitude of thirty-two degrees. Hence it is plainly to be inferred that Drake, besides many other modern cosmographers, in their various printed maps, with notable discredit to cosmography, deceive themselves as well as others, by extending this sea, or arm, or strait of the Sea of California from thirty-two to forty-six degrees, making it thereby an island, and the largest in the world, whereas it is not an island but a peninsula.

3d. Because in this journey inland when I was saying mass on March 11⁴⁸⁵ at the above-mentioned mouth of the Colorado River, in company with Father Rector Manuel Gonzales, the sun rose above more than thirty leagues of sea, at the head of this Californian arm or gulf. At the same time, from the same estuary we saw to the westward thirty leagues more of continuous land, as many more to the south and southwest, and many more to the north, northwest, and northeast. Therefore, this sea does not extend to the north.

4th. Because the natives nearest to that estuary, Quiquimas as well as Cutganes and Coanopas, both this time and on other occasions, gave us various blue shells which are found only on the opposite coast and on the other, or South Sea, where the ship from China comes. And they gave us this time some little pots which short-

⁴⁸⁴ This gives a clue to the distance of San Pedro from the junction.

⁴⁸⁵ See *ante*, page 344.

ly before they had brought from that opposite coast, travelling ten leagues⁴⁸⁶ from the west by continuous land.

5th. Because these natives and others who came to see us from far to the southwest gave us various reports of the fathers of our Company, telling us that they wore our costumes and vestments, and that they lived down there to the southward with the other Spaniards at Loreto Concho, where the Guimies and Edues, or Lai-mones Indians obtained their food, and where Father Rector Juan María de Salvatierra and others were. And I having purposely asked them if those Guimies and Edues Indians down there planted maize, and what foods they lived on, they answered us that they did not plant maize nor beans, etc., but that their food was game, the deer, the hare, the mountain goat, the *pitajaya*, the *tuna*, the *mescal*, and other wild fruits, and that the Indians to the westward had blue shells, all being things and reports which it was plain to me were true, since I was there and lived with those Indians seventeen years ago.

6th. Because now in this journey inland and on other occasions I have found various things—little trees, fruit, incense, etc.—all species which are peculiar to California alone, and samples of which I bring, to celebrate with the incense, by the favor of heaven, this Easter and Holy Week, and to place five good grains of incense in the Paschal candle. Moreover, near this estuary we already have found some words of the Guimia language which I learned there, while missionary and rector of that mission of California, although unworthy, in the two trienniums of Fathers Provincial

⁴⁸⁶ This clearly should be ten *days* instead of ten *leagues*, as is made clear by the entry for March 9.

Bernardo Pardo and Luys del Canto, from the year 1681 to that of 1685.⁴⁸⁷

7th. Because the ancient maps with good reason showed California as a peninsula and not as an island, as well as some modern ones, among them the universal map of my Father master of mathematics in the University of Ingolstadt, which is in my possession. He dedicated it to our Father San Ygnacio and to San Francisco Xavier, with this inscription: *de Universo Terrarum Orbe Opime Meritis*.⁴⁸⁸

And if some hostile and obstinate persons should maintain that some Quiquima Indians say that farther west the sea still extends to the northwest, these Quiquimas speak of the other sea, on the opposite coast, and not of this our Sea of California, of which, as some call it Red Sea, we may say, because we have found this passage, *Aparuit terra arida, et in Mari Rubro via sine impedimento*,⁴⁸⁹ as says the Church on August 8, on the day of the saints who have the Gospel: *Euntes in mundum universum. Predicate Evangelium omni creaturæ*.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁷ See *ante*, pages 37-38, 106.

⁴⁸⁸ "To the well deserving of the whole world." This reference is to Aygentler's map.

⁴⁸⁹ "Dry land appeared, and in the Red Sea a way without hindrance" (*Wisdom*, xix, 7). A literal quotation except for collocation. The original is *Terra arida aparuit*.

⁴⁹⁰ "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel unto every creature" (*Mark*, xvi, 15).

CHAPTER IX. LETTERS FROM IMPORTANT PERSON-
AGES IN REGARD TO THESE NEW CONVERSIONS,
WHICH I RECEIVED ON MY RETURN FROM
THIS JOURNEY INLAND

And just as in regard to all this, that most welcome letter of Your Reverence has been a very great consolation to me, likewise very refreshing and inspiring are various holy letters which yesterday, day of Our Lady of Sorrows, and the day before yesterday, I found and received at the pueblo of San Ygnacio. Two are from our father general, Thyrso Gonzales, two others from Father Provincial Francisco de Arteaga, others from other prominent fathers in Mexico, and others from other zealous fathers who, with their apostolic zeal, desired to come to these new spiritual and temporal conquests and conversions. One letter from our father general, dated May 15 of the past year 1701, begins with these words:

With great comfort to myself I have read a letter of your Reverence, dated March 17, in which you tell me of the condition of those missions, and how gloriously the laborers of his divine Majesty are working in them. May He fill them with consolation and spiritual gifts. Already, on other occasions, I have charged the Father Provincial, and I now charge him anew, to watch over those missions with all care, sending workers to carry on that which has been begun with so great fervor and success, etc.

The second letter from our father general ends with these words:

My Father, your Reverence is working there as an apostle, and since upon the works of such our Lord has vouchsafed His holy benediction, may His Majesty continue it for His own great glory, for the good of His souls, for our own consolation, and as a great crown for your Reverence, whom God preserve many years.

The father provincial, Francisco de Arteaga, on the twenty-seventh of last September writes:

I have received your Reverence's letter in which you inform me of the new journey inland in company with the Father Rector Juan María de Salvatierra, and I have rejoiced in what you have discovered, thanking your Reverence for the work, all of which has been effected by your good zeal; and I hope that by means of it that Pimería will at once assume the state and condition which I have so much desired, for it will contribute to the welfare of those poor souls, and to the credit of our Company as well, because those missions, once established, will become the support of California.

In the second letter, dated November 20, and in his own hand, his Reverence speaks thus:

For the sake of the consolation which your Reverence will receive, I inform you that the Father Procurator, Bernardo Rolandegui, advises me that the king our Lord, may God preserve him, has granted six thousand *pesos* for California,⁴⁹¹ and that more shall be granted when it is needed. May the Lord increase it, and give your Reverence good health and strength, in order that all those missions may be promoted as I desire.

The father secretary, Pedro Ygnacio de Loyola, on September 27 writes thus:

Fortunate your Reverence that you have such a field in which to exercise your holy zeal; and if perchance our Lord continue for us over here the *desiderare*,⁴⁹² we do not consider him under obligations for the *posse*,⁴⁹³ for gladly I shall deprive myself of such happiness if God shall be better served in those lands by others than by me.

Father Rector Ambrosio Oddon, on October 9 writes that with a land route to California the easier com-

⁴⁹¹ Early in 1702 three royal cédulas favoring California arrived in New Spain. Two, addressed to the Audiencia and the Bishop of Guadalajara, ordered the California missions encouraged by all means. The third, to the viceroy-archbishop, Juan de Ortega Montañez, ordered six thousand *pesos* a year given to the California missions, a report made on California, and that, if possible, two alms destined for the mainland be transferred to California (Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, 133).

⁴⁹² "To desire."

⁴⁹³ "To be able."

munication will be a great convenience and will carry with it still greater advantages, especially when our Lord shall dispose that the intervening nations shall be reduced.

All of which, my most beloved father visitor, Antonio Leal, I place at your Reverence's holy consideration, in order that with your paternal holy zeal you may aid us in securing help for so many souls and for so many nations, in particular because, thanks be to the Lord, there are already in this Pimeria some temporal means very conducive to this end, as your Reverence saw in your journey inland, although now there is much more.

CHAPTER X. TEMPORAL MEANS FOR THESE NEW CONVERSIONS AND FOR THE TOTAL REDUCTION OF THIS NORTH AMERICA, WHICH HITHERTO HAS BEEN UNKNOWN

I. First, there are already many cattle, sheep and goats, and horses; for, although in the past year I have given more than seven hundred cattle to the four fathers who entered this Pimería,⁴⁹⁴ I have for the other new conversions and missions which by the favor of heaven it may be desired to establish, more than three thousand five hundred more cattle; and some of them are already far inland, ninety leagues from here,⁴⁹⁵ and by the divine grace they can pass with ease to the Californias, Upper and Lower, as a certain important person is pleased to name them, the latter being in twenty-six and the former in thirty and more degrees of latitude.

II. There are in this very fertile and rich Pimería, which already has five missions with five fathers,

⁴⁹⁴ See the four mentioned, *ante*, page 303.

⁴⁹⁵ Those at Sonóita, for example.

many fields of wheat, maize, beans, etc.; and it produces all sorts of vegetables, garden products, and fruit trees, as in Europe. There are already vines for Castilian wine for the missions, a watermill, pack trains, fields, oxen, lands, level roads, beautiful rivers, abundant pasturage, good timbers for buildings, and mineral lands.

III. Of these new nations almost all are composed of industrious, docile, affable, and very friendly Indians; and only in some remote parts are there some Indians somewhat more barbarous and uncivilized, because of never having seen civilized people in all their lives.

IV. The temperature of these lands, which extend from thirty degrees of latitude to thirty-one, thirty-two, thirty-three, thirty-four, etc., is similar to that of Mexico and the better part of Europe, without excessive heat or excessive cold.

V. With these means and with these new conversions it will be possible to trade by sea and land with other near-by and remote provinces, nations, and kingdoms, with Sonora, Hyaqui, Cinaloa, Culiacan, with all New Galicia, with New Biscay, with Moqui, with New Mexico, which will be able to come to join hands with these provinces of Sonora, and even with New France.

• CHAPTER XI. ADVANTAGES WHICH MAY RESULT FROM THESE NEW CONVERSIONS TO THE BENEFIT OF ALL THIS UNKNOWN NORTH AMERICA

I. First, with these new conversions the Catholic dominion of the royal crown of our very Catholic monarch Philip V, God preserve him, and our holy Roman Catholic Faith, will be extended.

II. Very extensive new lands, nations, rivers, seas, and people of this North America which hitherto have been unknown will be discovered and won; and, be-

sides, thereby these Christian provinces will be more protected, safer, and more quiet.

III. Thereby will be removed the great errors and falsehoods imposed upon us by those who have delineated this North America with feigned things which do not exist, such as a crowned king whom they carried on a golden litter; a lake of quicksilver, and another of gold; a walled city with towers, etc.; the Kingdom of Axa; the pearls, amber, and corals of the Rio del Tizon, the Rio del Coral, and the Rio de Aganguchi, which they represent as emptying into this sea of California in thirty-five or thirty-six degrees, although this sea does not extend to that latitude; likewise the error of the Seven Cities, which some represent. Although at present they do not exist, ten years ago we saw some great houses at different places near the Rio Grande, whose structures, now fallen, indicate that they did exist a long time ago; and it is very possible that from them issued the people of Monte Suma, when they went to found the great City of Mexico.

IV. Since Father Mariano reprehends with reason those feigned grandeurs and riches, in particular when they wish to attribute them to the account of the Adelantado of New Mexico, Don Juan de Oñate,⁴⁹⁶ we shall be able to make drawings and true cosmographic maps of all these new lands and nations, of this passage by land to California, as well as of the very large volumed, fertile, and very populous rivers which empty into the head of this sea, and of the harbors and bays of the opposite coast and Sea of the South, of Gran Quivira, of Gran Teguayo, and of the neighboring

⁴⁹⁶ See Zárate Sálmerón's account of the Oñate expedition, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706*, 208-280. This account Zárate based on the diary of Francisco de Escobar, which contains fabulous tales which Zárate refrained from repeating. Of the still unpublished Escobar diary I have a copy.

Apachería, Moqui, etc. And as your Reverence, in the journey inland made two years ago with Señor Lieutenant Juan Mateo Manje, Father Francisco Gonzalvo, and me, which in going and returning was more than two hundred leagues, found these Pima nations, with some Opas and Cocomaricopas, already reduced to our friendship, so now the Yumas, Coanopas, Cut-ganes, Quiquimas, and many others to the north, northwest, and west are reduced, in this terra firma as well as in the neighboring California Alta; all of which lands combined are as large as all of Europe, and of the same climate and temperature.

Moreover, by the north, northeast, and east, can be found a road to Europe shorter by half than the one which we now use by way of Mexico and Vera Cruz; as also by the northwest and west one shall be able to go in time by land even very near to Japan, Great China, and Tartary; for the Strait of Anian, which authors place with such a variety of opinions, probably has no more foundation in fact than had this arm of the sea with which for us they incorrectly delineated California as an island. That route to Japan and Great China can be found by way of Cape Mendozino, and by the land of Yesso,⁴⁹⁷ and by the land which they call Tierra de la Compañía, which by divine grace, with apostolic missionaries can become Land of the Company of Jesus.

⁴⁹⁷ From the middle of the seventeenth century a body of land lying north of Japan was known as Yeco, Yezo, or Jeso Land. In 1643 an expedition of the Dutch East India Company sailed past Jeso and discovered two of the Kuril Islands. One of these, designated as Company Land, was believed to be a part of the American coast. In regard to these lands there was much confusion for a century. After this, as a result of two expeditions sent out by Russia, "Alaska takes the place of Terra de Jeso on the maps; Company Land, State Island, and Gama Land are three of the Kuril Islands, but on some charts they still retain their old names" (Golder, *Russian Expansion on the Pacific, 1641-1850, 130-131*).

V. The China ship can have a port of call, as you have so much desired, on the opposite coast of California, where the many sick with scurvy which it is accustomed to bring will find relief. And it can have trade, very profitable for all, with the provinces of this Kingdom of New Biscay, for they told me seventeen years ago when I sailed in the Chinese ship from Matanchel to Acapulco that for a sheep they gladly gave an ivory tusk or a piece of China linen, which is usually forty *varas* long and which it is the custom to sell for a dollar a *vara*, because of the heavy freight charges entailed in carrying it by land from Mexico to these provinces of Sonora. And almost the same is true with respect to the other goods of this very rich Philippine galleon.

VI. We shall comply with what so Christianlike and so earnestly is charged upon us by the very Catholic *cédula* of May [1]4, 1686, which the Royal Audiencia of Guadalajara gave me, inserted in a royal provision, when I was passing through that city on my return from California and coming to these new conversions. In that royal *cédula* his royal Majesty commands that with respect to the most essential point of the new conversions effort shall be made to make all haste possible as in a matter of chief concern to his royal Majesty, and a matter of conscience to him, just as to those of us who live nearest, and that the necessary expenses be not spared, because his royal Majesty recognizes that for all that is spent in those causes, so merciful, our Lord always returns to his royal crown very abundant and well known increase,⁴⁹⁸ which are the words of the royal *cédula*. And, indeed, we very plainly see that at the very same time that his royal Majesty, Don Carlos II,

⁴⁹⁸ The *cédula* is printed in this work, *ante*, page 108.

God preserve him, incurred the very great expense of the three ships for the conversion of California through Admiral Don Ysidro de Atondo y Antillon, there were discovered very near to and opposite said conquest and conversion the great riches and mines of the mining camps which are commonly called Los Frayles, Alamos, and Guadalupe;⁴⁹⁹ and the day of our Lady of Sorrows, day before yesterday, when I received the news of the six thousand *pesos* which his royal Majesty Philip V, God preserve him, gave to the new conversions of California, they gave me certain news of the treasure and rich mines which have just been discovered near here at Quisuani,⁵⁰⁰ Aygame, San Cosme, etc., and very near to the new conversion or mission of San Francisco Xavier of the Pimas Cocomacaques of Pimeria Baxa.

VII. In this way even with very great good fortune and profit to ourselves, by divine grace, we will bring it about that, so many souls being converted, *fiat unus pastor, et unum ovile*,⁵⁰¹ and that all will help us to praise our most merciful God through all the blessed Eternity. All of which I commend very affectionately to the holy sacrifices and to the paternal, holy protection of your Reverence, whose life may our Lord preserve as I desire. Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, April 8, 1702. Your Reverence's humble servant and subject.

EUSEBIO FRANCISCO KINO.

And because some persons were of the opinion that it would be expedient that I should accompany this long letter with some certificate of the royal justice and that I should go to Mexico, the following was given me.

⁴⁹⁹ These places are south of the Mayo River, near latitude 27°.

⁵⁰⁰ That Quisuani was attracting attention is evidenced by the fact that Manje, now alcalde mayor, was there at this time, as is shown on page 363, *post*.

⁵⁰¹ "And let there be one shepherd and one fold" (Compare *John*, x, 16: *et fiet unum ovile, et unus pastor*).

CHAPTER XII. CERTIFICATE OF THE SEÑOR ALCALDE MAYOR OF THIS PROVINCE, JUAN MATEO MANJE, IN REGARD TO THE LETTER AND REPORT OF FOUR SHEETS TO THE FATHER VISITOR, ANTONIO LEAL; AND IN REGARD TO THE JOURNEY INLAND AND THE LAND ROUTE TO CALIFORNIA

"In this mining camp of Nuestra Señora del Socorro de Quisuari, on the fifteenth day of the month of May, 1702, I, Captain Juan Matheo Manxe, alcalde mayor and captain in war in this province of Sonora and its jurisdictions for his Majesty, certify and attest in so far as I ought and is in my power, and so far as there is authority in law, that the relation in the letter and the above signature are those of the Reverend Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, of the Company of Jesus, first minister and missionary of the pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores of the Pima nation, whom I have known for nine years in this region, for I have accompanied him on various explorations and journeys inland which I have made with his Reverence, travelling in each of them more than two hundred or three hundred leagues, which together make the aggregate of three thousand one hundred leagues which I have travelled with his Reverence in these explorations, as more fully appears in the daily itineraries and relations which the Father, on his part, as well as I have made. In this work, on some occasions I bore the commission of deputy alcalde mayor and captain in war, and on others that of commander of some soldiers and citizens, the former being some of those in charge of Don Domingo Jironsa Petris de Crusate, and the citizens going at the cost and maintenance of the said Father.

"And I know as an eye-witness that he has brought about the progress in the reduction to obedience to his

Majesty of the said Pima nation, which is composed of more than sixteen thousand persons, enumerated by my hand, settled on very good rich rivers and fertile lands of arable soil, where there have been newly founded four missions, besides the first one, whose lands border on the arm of the Sea of California, which I have reached and seen at three distinct places, in various altitudes of the north pole. In that of twenty-eight degrees I have seen and accurately observed with mathematical instruments that the said arm is not more than twenty-six leagues wide, and at the latitude of thirty-two degrees only twenty leagues wide, while in that of thirty-one degrees,^{501a} where I saw it the last time, it has only the inconsiderable width of twelve leagues. These measurements and observations testify that the farther one follows the said arm of the sea to the northwest, the narrower it becomes. And in order to find out if it ended higher up to the northwest, the said Father Euzevio Fransisco Kino set out on the journey inland to which reference is made; and his Reverence informed me with candor that he was at the head of the said arm of the sea and saw that the land of Pimeria joined with California, asserting confidently that it is a peninsula. As to his Reverence's statement to the effect that he is a founder of ranches of cattle, sheep and goats, and horses, I am an eye-witness to the fact, from having seen them. As to the rest, in regard to the riches and the crowned king and the other things with which he concluded, I have not witnessed them and therefore cannot certify to them here with the verisimilitude which the case requires; but I do assert confidently that the relation is by a zealous minister to whom entire credit has been given, as I stated above. And in

^{501a} Evidently the latitudes are interchanged here through some error.

order that it may receive the credence which it deserves, I have given the present on petition of the said reverend father, officiating as receiving judge, with the assisting witnesses, there being no public or royal notary. It is written on common paper, for stamped paper is not in fashion here, paper being furnished by the ordinary justice of the mines and provinces. Attest.

JUAN MATHEO MANJE."

"Witnesses: JOSEPH HORTEGAS CHUMAZERO.
NICOLAS DE LA TORRE."

CHAPTER XIII. OTHER LETTERS FROM DIFFERENT PERSONS IN REGARD TO THIS JOURNEY INLAND AND TO THE LAND ROUTE TO CALIFORNIA

Many persons, especially those well disposed to these new spiritual and temporal conquests and conversions, wrote of the great satisfaction which they had received from the reports of this long journey inland, and their very sympathetic letters were very edifying, being so zealous in the service of God and the King; while others less well disposed emphasized their doubts and objected that still, perhaps, there might be this or that difficulty.

The Señor alcalde mayor, and Generals Don Jacinto de Fuen Saldaña and Juan Fernandez de la Fuente, and others, soon manifested very clearly their very good and Catholic zeal. The father visitor, Antonio Leal, on April 15 wrote me the following:

I received one letter from your Reverence, but the others which your Reverence mentions have not come. It was received with pleasure as great as my depression had been before its arrival because of the bad news which had been current to the effect that your Reverence had been drowned, in consequence of which I had already said the masses. May God preserve your Reverence for us many years. I greatly rejoice that certainty in regard to the mainland has now been estab-

lished, as your Reverence writes, although this impediment of the river is very considerable.

It is a busy day, and there is time only to give your Reverence Easter greetings. May you spend it happily.

Thus far the father visitor. The father rector of Matape, Marcos Antonio Kappus, wrote me the same, that is, that his Reverence had chanted requiem masses for Father Rector Manuel Gonzales and me, because of the rumor which had been current that we with all our people had been killed. Father Rector Juan Maria de Salvatierra, although the long relation of this journey inland which I sent to his Reverence was lost, wrote me two very tender and sympathetic letters in regard to the matter. The first, dated September 21, was in these words:

Your Reverence's letter dated April 17 I received on June 22, after having passed two months of great hunger, altogether lacking bread and tortillas, and being reduced to lean meat, because of the drought, as a consequence of which I am very thin. The launch *San Xavier*, for now no other boat is left to us, was absent, so that I could not answer your Reverence's letter. But God consoled us in the midst of our toils, for the launch having arrived, since coming with the southwest winds from Hyaqui she was able to make this bay, landed at La Concepción, and the last time she put in there seeking water the Indians searched out for them a river which empties into the sea and which is next to the bay, in the point between it and Las Virgenes. They entered the river with the sea canoe, secured their water supply, and returned with the good news, which we did not believe could be true, because no river had been found since Cortés entered. God grant that we may go there, though it is impossible at present, because there is no vessel, and no news of Father Francisco Maria Picolo, except that by the end of May he had collected nothing.

If the father does not arrive within the next twenty days we shall look for him no longer, as we have only the little launch, which for five years has not been thoroughly careened.

In such distress as we are in, for our necessities are extreme, your Reverence can understand the gratitude we feel toward you for the constancy which you manifest in aiding us, and God will recompense your Reverence therefor. We have also been engaged in a troublesome war in the direction of the mountains,⁵⁰² but it now appears that matters are being righted. I appreciate very much also the flour with which your Reverence has aided us; and I say *salva nos, perimus*,⁵⁰³ for this time we are perishing in very truth, especially since we have lost the great benefactor, Father Manuel Gonzales, whose death is glorious and to be much envied by the sons of the Company. Since his death none but your Reverence remains, and so again I say *perimus*.⁵⁰⁴ May the will of God be done in everything; and accept, your Reverence, warm greetings from Father Juan de Ugarte. With this I close, commending myself to your holy prayers and holy sacrifices. September 21, 1702. Your Reverence's servant in Christ.

JUAN MARIA DE SALVATIERRA.

His Reverence adds the following:

I dispatch this on the nineteenth of October, and still we know nothing of Father Francisco Maria Piccolo, having received no consignment of supplies, and being utterly at sea. Live Jesus! live Mary! It is more than a year since I have seen the handwriting of the father visitor of Sonora, and I do not know why, unless the letters are lost; nor have I received the relation which your Reverence mentions, though I desire it, as I rejoice in the compendious reports of your glorious toils in that last journey inland.

Thus far Father Rector Juan Maria in his letter of this year. Soon I shall insert the one which his Reverence wrote me the following year, touching the continuance of these journeys inland until we should meet in California. But as in the autumn of this year and

⁵⁰² This rebellion in California is described by Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, 133.

⁵⁰³ "Save us; we perish" (Compare *Matthew*, viii, 25; *Domine, salva nos; perimus!*)

⁵⁰⁴ "We perish."

the following spring my journeys inland were prevented, I applied myself here to the building of two good churches in my second and third pueblos, Nuestra Señora de los Remedios and Cocospera, both of which were finished happily, thank God, and were dedicated in the middle of January, 1704, as shall be related in the proper place. The zealous, holy letter of Father Rector Juan Maria de Salvatierra dated March 3, 1703, to the effect that because the disputed passage was and is so certain that no opposition should be made thereto, although God orders what is for the best, is as follows:

I received your Reverence's letter, accompanied by the map of the discovery of the landlocked strait, which has been so much disputed that I have been no little depressed. But all things for the glory of God have begun thus. Hence there is no reason to be discouraged, but rather to try well to arrange with the superiors for another journey, by which this truth shall be ascertained, this time with evidence. Your Reverence has already gone far, in order now, once for all, to remove this doubt from everybody. But you have still to plan for the rest, and all the means and proper arrangements to go provided with flour, maize, *pinole*, and all the other little regalements which you know to be conducive to success, in order to succeed once for all with God's work, and not be compelled to return only to argue more and more. Finally, your Reverence sees how important it is that you consult in regard to the necessary means with some person informed relative to the matter of taking or not some armed men, so as to be able to stay with them one or two months at a place where the animals may recuperate, without fear that the Indians will make way with the food. This done, the host of new map makers will be silenced, but they are not going to be silenced until they are completely done for.

I very much appreciate your Reverence's charity in aiding us, especially in such abundance, in sending the ten loaded mules to Hyaqui, a distance so great that you shame me, seeing how much you do for these your missions, while I am so

useless that I can serve you in nothing except molestations and burdens. Accept, your Reverence, hearty greetings from all the fathers, grateful for your Reverence's goods and for your great charity, by means of which they will eat good bread. May God recompense your Reverence for it a thousand and millions of times. With this I close, commending myself to your prayers and holy sacrifices. Loreto Concho, March 3, 1703. Your Reverence's servant in Christ.⁵⁰⁵

JUAN MARIA DE SALVATIERRA.

As I did not bring it about with this letter, either, that I should be permitted to go to continue a discovery so much desired, because it was said that I should be needed in my districts, etc., I continued with more application and with all care in the building of my two churches; and God willed that many natives should come from distant lands and nations to see me.

⁵⁰⁵ Ortega alludes to this letter in discussing Kino's work, on page 306 of the *Apostólicos Afanes*.

BOOK V. THE COMING OF INDIANS FROM
REMOTE PARTS WITH MESSAGES FROM
VERY DISTANT NATIONS BORDERING ON
CALIFORNIA ALTA AND LIVING ON
THE LAND ROUTE TO IT, ALL OF
WHOM ASK FOR FATHERS AND HOLY
BAPTISM. EFFORTS ARE MADE
TO GO TO MEXICO TO SOLICIT
THE COMING OF THE NEC-
CESSARY FATHERS

CHAPTER I. THE GOVERNOR OF SAN MARCELO DEL
SONOYDAG, WITH OTHER JUSTICES, COMES NINE-
TY LEAGUES' JOURNEY TO NUESTRA SEÑORA
DE LOS DOLORES TO SOLICIT FATHERS
AND HOLY BAPTISM FOR HIS PIMA
PEOPLE AND FOR THE YUMA AND
QUIQUIMA NATIONS

With the last journey inland, made in the past months of February, March, and April, of which I wrote in Book IV, preceding, the nations through whom Father Rector Manual Gonzales and I passed remained very well disposed to our holy faith, for they recognized that our long journeys were for the eternal salvation of all those people, especially as they knew that one father had given up his life,⁵⁰⁶ and that the Quiquimas of California Alta, as well as the Yumas and others, had sent various messengers and runners with crosses sixty, seventy, and one hundred and more leagues to San

⁵⁰⁶ The reference is to the death of Father González on his return from the Colorado River.

Marcelo del Sonoydag to ask the governor of that incipient pueblo to come to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores to seek fathers and holy baptism. Therefore, in August of this year, 1702, the governor of San Marcelo, with other justices and other heathen, came with some crosses to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores; and all asked me for the necessary fathers and holy baptism for themselves, for the Yuma and Quiquima nations, and for the others near-by. And when I said to the governor and the rest that it would be well for them to go to the Valley of Sonora to ask Father Visitor Antonio Leal for that great boon for their souls and those of the other nations, and that I would furnish them guides, interpreters, and a letter to his Reverence, they insinuated to me that they would be glad if I could go with them.

Thereupon, leaving other tasks, I set out with those poor souls,⁵⁰⁷ and in three days we arrived at the pueblo of Guepaca,⁵⁰⁸ after having passed through the valley and pueblo of the Real de Opodepe. Here one of the heathen in our following fell seriously ill, whereupon, catechising him, I baptized him and named him Antonio, in the charitable house of Señor Lieutenant Antonio Fernandez Villanueva y Ron. Arriving at the Valley of Sonora and its pueblo of Guepaca, we were welcomed with all kindness by the father visitor, Antonio Leal; and when the poor natives gave his Reverence the crosses and the messages of the very distant Yumas and Quiquimas, he comforted the poor Indians, saying that with all haste possible he would try to secure for them the fathers necessary for the eternal salvation of those who were asking it. With this consolation and

⁵⁰⁷ Ortega summarizes this passage (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 308-309).

⁵⁰⁸ Huepaca (Guepaca) is on the Río de Sonora about thirty miles south of Arizpe.

with good hopes, we returned to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores; and the governor and the other justices returned to San Marzelo, sending the favorable responses to the Yumas and the Quiquimas.

CHAPTER II. HAPPY DEATH OF A RECENTLY BAPTIZED INDIAN

Having returned from the Valley of Sonora to this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores by another and somewhat shorter road, we learned that Antonio, he who had recently been sick and baptized, had died in Opodepe. I wrote the news of his death and of our arrival to the father visitor, and his Reverence, on September 5, wrote me the following letter:

I have felt great pleasure at seeing how our Lord has repaid at once the steps which the deceased Antonio took for the salvation of his people and himself, which I trust in God he has attained to and secured. I judge that it will be necessary to report it to the people of his nation, so that they will not suppose that we have detained him or that he has been killed, etc.

I gave this news not only to the neighboring but also to distant people, and to the relatives of the deceased, informing them in regard to the great blessing which one who before dying becomes a Christian by means of holy baptism receives. And not only did no one grieve at his death, but it was a comfort to them; and always with more anxiety the natives of this country of the northwest as well as the others in various other parts have asked and continue to ask for the blessing of eternal salvation for their souls, and for their bodies as well, for by means of holy baptism in due time they can obtain a glorious resurrection, never afterwards having to fear death, or to have any other illness, or toil, or misfortune.

CHAPTER III. OF TWO OTHER JOURNEYS INLAND
WHICH I MADE TO THE WEST AND NORTH,
LOOKING TO THE SPIRITUAL AND TEMPO-
RAL WELFARE OF THE POOR NATIVES ⁵⁰⁹

It had been some time since I had seen the children of the west and of the Soba nation, or the Sovaipuris of the north and of San Xavier del Bac; therefore I went in to work on the two churches of San Ambrocio del Busanic and Santa Gertrudes del Saric,⁵¹⁰ and began the large church of La Consepsión del Caborca, to the westward, and to look after its cattle, crops, and harvests of wheat and maize which they were tending for the fathers whom they hoped to receive. Also I went in as far as San Marzelo, whence, by the captain of El Comac, I sent wheat to sow at the Colorado River and in the Yuma and Quiquima nations, grain and seed which had never been seen or known there, to see if it would yield there as well as in those other fertile new lands; and it did yield and does yield very well. Afterwards I began also the very large church of San Xavier del Bac, among the Sovaipuris, distant about sixty leagues to the north of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. And in all places there was a very rich and plentiful harvest of souls, so ripe that I as well as some other persons, zealous for the advancement of these new conquests and conversions, were of the opinion that it would be well if I should go to Mexico to try to secure the fathers so necessary for the salvation of so many souls.

On my return from these my peregrinations, I gave an account of them to the father visitor, Antonio Leal,

⁵⁰⁹ This chapter is summarized by Ortega in *Apostólicos Afanes*, 309.

⁵¹⁰ Mis-printed as "Sayre" by Ortega, *ibid.*, 309.

and on November 3 his Reverence wrote me the following:

I thank your Reverence heartily for the great work which you are doing for the welfare of those poor souls. God will repay it. For the reports of supplies, crops, churches, sick people, etc., for everything, your Reverence will receive your reward in heaven. And I thank you also for the greetings of the children, and beg your Reverence that when you have an opportunity you will return them.

CHAPTER IV. LETTERS FROM THE FATHER VISITOR AND FROM THE SEÑOR ALCALDE MAYOR IN REGARD TO THE STATE OF THIS PIMERIA

The father visitor, Antonio Leal, in his letter to which I have just referred, continues with these words:

Regarding your going to Mexico at this time, your Reverence will see that it will be better to await the coming of the new government, which must soon be here, for in the natural course of events it can be delayed but little longer, even though it or news of it do not come in the mail boat, but in the store ships instead. Moreover, fathers having been asked, as I have asked them, of the father provincial, we shall see in the first letters that come what his Reverence replies, although the difficulty will be in the matter of the alms. But I have no doubt that, with the reports, your Reverence will secure them, because talking face to face with the Señor viceroy is very different from writing. But the government, or news of it, can be very little delayed. As to the children who wish to come hither, your Reverence will please deter the poor people from coming so far, telling them that you have already written to me, that I thank them for their good aspirations, but that they must wait a little, and that God will console them, bringing fathers, etc.

In another letter which his Reverence wrote me three weeks later, he concludes with these words:

Please do me the favor, your Reverence, to commend me to Captain Coro (whose Christian name was and is Antonio Leal), and to all the natives who have come from the interior

and are there, consoling them with the hope which I entertain that God will aid them with fathers. And I pray Him to keep your Reverence for me, etc.

The Señor alcalde mayor of the province of Sonora, Juan Mateo Manje, who had been lieutenant of this Pimería, wrote me, almost at the same time as the father visitor, as follows:

I note from the last letter the good state of Pimería, and the docility of the natives. For this I congratulate myself, because of the interest and the part which I have had in the maintenance of that Pimería, and because the ardent desires of your Reverence and myself are being fulfilled, and because of the pacification, which is due very largely to your great merit. And may God our Lord grant that in the future we may all succeed in a purpose directed to the welfare of those natives and to their eternal salvation, and that Infernal Chaos may be thwarted in his diabolical plans, and in the hindrances which he brings in his train; and may he go to dwell in the caverns of hell.

Thus far the very Catholic Señor alcalde mayor.

CHAPTER V. THERE IS DISCUSSION OF MY GOING
TO MEXICO TO OBTAIN AND BRING FATHERS FOR
THESE HARVESTS OF SOULS, SO EXTENSIVE AND
SO RIPE, IN THIS PIMERIA AND IN OTHER
NEIGHBORING NATIONS

The great lack of missionary fathers in these new conversions caused me and many other persons to consider whether I should go to Mexico to secure and bring the necessary fathers, especially because certain hopes had been current that in this autumn the procurators, Father Rolandegui and Father Vera, who had gone to Rome,⁵¹¹ would arrive and that they would bring from Europe a numerous mission of zealous father workers. I reported this to the father visitor, An-

⁵¹¹ It was these men who carried part I of Kino's *Favores Celestiales* to Rome. See *ante*, page 227.

tonio Leal, by word of mouth and in writing, and soon his Reverence and many others became thoroughly convinced that I should go to Mexico.

And after having thanked me by word of mouth in Guepaca for my good intention, his Reverence wrote me a long letter, that I might show it to the new father visitor, of the new government, which was expected very soon, containing very strong arguments with which he demonstrated how very expedient it was that I should go to Mexico to speak face to face with the father provincial and the Señor viceroy, in order to obtain and bring the fathers and workers necessary for so ripe a harvest of so many souls that very anxiously were asking holy baptism, in this extensive Pimeria as well as in the surrounding nations, especially since his royal Majesty had already granted eight alms for eight fathers and eight missions in this Pimeria. Many other persons also considered it very important that I should go to Mexico for the above-stated end of obtaining and bringing missionary fathers. Nevertheless, I did not go to Mexico for the reasons which the next chapter will tell.

CHAPTER VI. MANY OTHERS, AND I ALSO, WERE OF THE OPINION, PARTICULARLY BECAUSE NEITHER THE NEW GOVERNMENT NOR THE MISSION OF EUROPEAN FATHERS HAD ARRIVED, THAT MY GOING TO MEXICO WAS NOT NECESSARY

Since the very notorious and injurious wars of all Europe prevented the usual vessels of the Spanish fleet from coming on time to this New Spain, neither could the new government of our Company come on time, nor the father procurators who had gone to Rome, nor the mission of missionary fathers which already had been granted and equipped in Seville. Consequently we

changed our minds about my going to Mexico,⁵¹² and I tried to continue to advance things here as much as possible, in these three pueblos which I had under my charge, as well as in the other new pueblos farther in, to the north, northwest, and west, which were being prosperously founded. And in particular I tried to accomplish another long journey inland of more than three hundred, or about three hundred and twenty-five leagues, until by land I should reach Loreto Concho, where lived the reverend fathers of California, Father Juan Maria Salvatierra, and the rest of the gentlemen, soldiers and citizens, etc. This all involved going one hundred and sixty leagues northwest to the Yumas and the Rio Grande, one hundred⁵¹³ more west to the Colorado River, and forty or fifty more southwest to the mouth of the said Colorado River and to the Quiquimas, as has been done in the past months with Father Rector Manuel Gonzales, and afterwards down that part of the way which alone remained, about one hundred and twenty-five leagues to the southwest, now on California soil and west of the Sea of the said California. This would have been a very easy task, and commerce by land with California would have been established, together with the conversion of many souls; but the heaven-appointed time must not have arrived, for my going, or expedition, or journey by land to California, Upper and Lower, was prevented, and I therefore tried to apply myself to other ministries and functions, likewise of our institute.

⁵¹² Ortega's explanation of Kino's not going to Mexico is based on this passage: "*Mas la consideración de hallarse en guerra Europa, suspendidas las Flotas, y detenidas las Misiones, hizo juzgar, que este viaje no podría producir el deseado efecto, y que quizá la ausencia del Padre ocasionaría mayores daños y atrassos*" (*Apostólicos, Afanes*, 309).

⁵¹³ Evidently a mis-copy for 10. In the Ms. the distances here are all given in Arabic numerals.

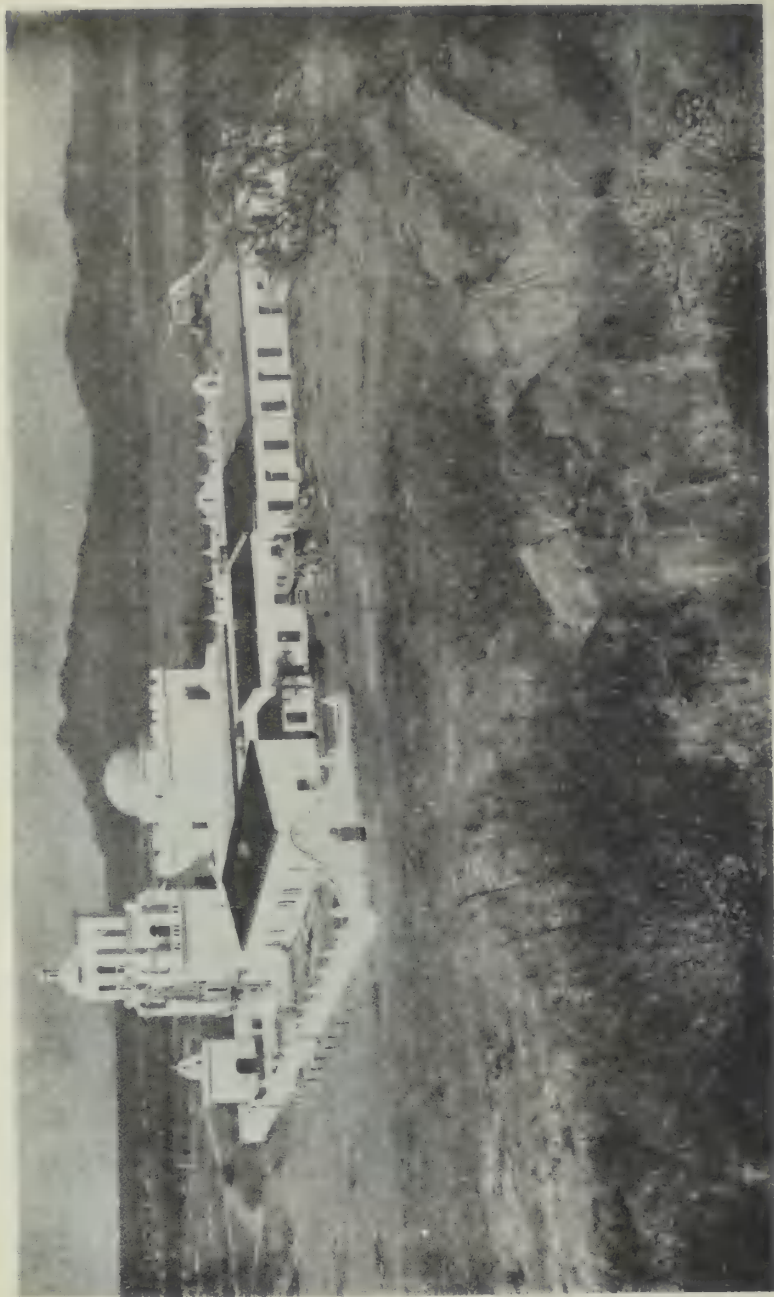
CHAPTER VII. THE BUILDING OF TWO GOOD SPACIOUS CHURCHES IN THE SECOND AND THIRD PUEBLOS OF MY ADMINISTRATION IN THIS PIMERIA

Because my going to Mexico, as well as to California, had been prevented, I applied myself to building with all possible efficacy and speed, so as to have this work more advanced, the two churches on which small beginnings had been made during the first five years of my entrance upon these new conversions, in my second and third pueblos of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. And when the father visitor, Antonio Leal, saw this church of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, he said it was one of the best that he had seen in all the missions. Nevertheless, the other new ones which I undertook in the following months turned out even better, for they have transepts, etc. And in a little more than a year they were finished and were dedicated in the same week, in the middle of January, 1704, as shall be stated in its proper place.⁵¹⁴ After having commended all things to his divine Majesty and to our great patron of the new conversions, the glorious apostle of the Indies, San Francisco Xavier, besides Jesus and Mary most holy, with their celestial favors, which, though unworthy, I am writing, I tried to have in the three pueblos of my administration (which are first, Nuestra Señora de Los Dolores, second, Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, and third, Santiago de Cocospora) sufficient provisions of maize, wheat, cattle, and clothing, or shop goods, such as cloth, sack cloth, blankets, and other fabrics, which are the currency that best serves in these new lands for the laborers, master carpenters, constables, military commanders, captains, and fiscals.

⁵¹⁴ See volume ii, page 81.

In these months and the following I ordered the necessary wood cut for the pine framework, sills, flooring, etc. I went to the interior and brought more than seven hundred dollars' worth of clothing, tools and heavy ware and from other places I obtained more than three thousand dollars' worth, which shortly and with ease were paid for with the goods, provisions, and cattle of the three rich districts. I invited some men from the frontier⁵¹⁵ for the work on these buildings, and there came far and away more than I had asked for; and very especially, for entire months, the many inhabitants of the great new pueblo of San Francisco Xavier del Bac, which is sixty leagues distant to the north, worked and built on the three pueblos of this place and of my administration. In this way many adobes were made in the two pueblos of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios and Santiago de Cocospora; and high and strong walls were made for two large and good churches, with their two spacious chapels, which form transepts, with good and pleasing arches. The timbers were brought from the neighboring mountains and pineries, and the two good buildings were roofed, and provided with cupolas, small lanterns, etc. I managed almost all the year to go nearly every week through the three pueblos, looking after both spiritual and temporal things, and the rebuilding of the two above-mentioned new churches.

⁵¹⁵ He means Indians from the frontier.



A PRESENT-DAY VIEW OF THE MISSION SAN XAVIER DEL BAC

KINO'S HISTORICAL MEMOIR
OF PIMERIA ALTA
VOLUME II

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^b Chapters IX-XVI are misnumbered in the manuscript.

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^c This heading, omitted from the Table of Contents, has been supplied from the body of the work.

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^a This chapter and the next are misnumbered in the manuscript.

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Chapter II. That prudent Persons think that in these two hundred Leagues of new Conquests a new Kingdom can be founded.

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Chapter VI. That in time we shall be able to trade with New France and open a Way to Europe shorter by half than that which we travel *via* Vera Cruz.

Chapter VII. That to the westward by continuous Lands, by the Land of Yesso, by the Land which they call Tierra de la Compañia, and by the Strait of Anian, in Time one will be able to pass from this America to Asia and to Great Tartary and to Great China.

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Chapter IX. That we shall happily comply with that which in so Catholic a Manner so many royal Cédulas charge us with, namely, that in a Matter so very essential we must report these Heathendoms that live in such Helplessness, in order to reduce them and convert them to our Holy

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Chapter V. That the Natives are industrious Indians and friendly People.

Chapter VI. That these Natives have for Trade and friendly Commerce their many Provisions, cotton Fabrics, finely wrought Baskets, or *Jicaras*, Antelope Skins, Buckskins, Bezoar Stones, etc.

Chapter VII. That in these Coasts there are good Salt Beds, and good Fisheries can be established.

Chapter VIII. That all the Year the principal Natives of these New Conquests come to see me and to ask Holy

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- Chapter X. That this same Pima Language which we speak here is current more than two hundred Leagues farther in the Interior, even among the Natives of different Nations.
- Chapter XI. That these new Nations have no particular Sects or Idolatries to be eradicated.
- Chapter XII. That there are many Missions or new Pueblos begun, with good Beginnings in the Teaching of the Christian Doctrine and of Prayers, and in the Building of Churches and Houses, and of Crops, and of Cattle.
- Chapter XIII. That this Mission of Nuestra Senora de los Dolores is actually giving nearly three thousand *Pesos* in Cattle, Provisions, Ornaments with which to say Mass, and new Furnishings of a House for the Founding of the new Mission of Santa Maria, and will be able to give as much more, and others may do the same, for other Foundations.
- Chapter XIV. That already different Benefactors, missionary Fathers and Seculars, offer good Gifts of Cattle, Provisions, and Clothing, for the new Missions which may be founded.
- Chapter XV. That the most illustrious Señor Bishop of this Kingdom of New Biscaya offers to aid in Securing the necessary Alms for some Laborers in these new Missions.
- Chapter XVI. Epilogue, very suitable, and so much the more to our Purpose because unlooked for, in regard to the above-mentioned Means, as well as in regard to the Subject-matter of all this Report or Relation, for which prays our new Father General, Miguel Angel Tamburini, in the new holy Letter which has just arrived from Rome, at these new Conversions.

EUSEBIO FRANCISCO KINO.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

A PRESENT-DAY VIEW OF MISSION SAN XAVIER

DEL BAC *Frontispiece*

Founded by Father Kino, April 28, 1700.

FACSIMILE OF THE TITLE PAGE OF PICOLO'S INFORME . . . 41

Printed in 1702. Folio, 16 pages. Very rare. A fine copy is possessed by the Bancroft Library, University of California.

MAP OF PIMERIA ALTA, 1687-1711 233

Compiled by Herbert Eugene Bolton from Kino's Memoir and other contemporary sources.

[In this edition, the map is inserted at the end of the book. In the original edition it occupied the place of pages 233 and 234, as if it were a numbered leaf there.]

PART III

**OF THE CELESTIAL FAVORS OF
Jesus, Most Holy Mary, and the Most
Glorious Apostle of the Indies, San
Francisco Xavier, Experienced in these
New Conversions or New Philippines
of this Unknown North America in the
Years 1703 and 1704.**

BOOK I, OF THE YEAR 1703. INCURSIONS
OF THE HOSTILE APACHES INTO THE
PROVINCE OF SONORA AND ITS FRON-
TIERS AND INTO THIS PIMERIA,
WHICH DID NOT, HOWEVER, HIN-
DER THE BUILDING OF ITS TWO
NEW CHURCHES

CHAPTER I. OF THE ENEMIES WHO ARE ACCUS-
TOMED TO COMMIT MANY HOSTILITIES AND
DO MUCH DAMAGE IN THIS PROVINCE
AND ITS FRONTIERS, AND EVEN
WITHIN THIS PIMERIA ¹

Every year, especially since the Jocomes, Janos, and Sumas revolted, there are regularly many thefts of horses, cattle, sheep, and goats, and even murders of Christian Indians, Spaniards, soldiers, etc., particularly on the frontiers of this province of Sonora, but also on the frontiers of this Pimeria. And although for the prevention of so many and so grievous injuries there have been conceded and provided by his royal Majesty two presidios of fifty soldiers each, that of Janos, and the flying company and presidio of this province of Sonora, the enemies, the above-mentioned Hocomes, Janos, and Sumas, as well as the Apaches, etc., have been pushing and each year continue to push farther inland into the lands of the Christians, and into the province of Sonora and this Pimeria, there being no

¹ The Indian hostilities recounted in this book are not treated in detail elsewhere.

adequate check or resistance to so many robberies and murders as every year so grievously have been experienced since Captain Coro, of this Pimeria, as is mentioned in Part I, killed somewhat more than three hundred hostile Jocomes,² most of which tribe are enemies still at large.

On January 4, 1703, when these hostile Apaches had pushed in to San Ygnacio, a mission of the Pimeria, and carried off a drove of horses, Father Agustin de Campos, missionary of that district, wrote me the following:

I have already written to your Reverence how I feel in regard to the report, therefore the number of fathers whom your Reverence must ask for is seven. And if your Reverence is rector (for in regard to that, without my wishing it the father provincial, Francisco de Arteaga, wrote me a very nice letter separating this rectorate of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores of Pimería, from the rectorate of San Francisco Xavier de Sonora,³) it will be easier in every way to bring this about and secure it, and I shall never refuse to obey your Reverence in whatever you may order me, but in any case, I am always your Reverence's servant, which experience would have shown many years ago if the Devil had not thrust in his tail, etc. They say that a mare belonging to the mayor domo here, one of the horses which the enemy carried off, has come back, and one of my horses, a colt, has returned also, etc. San Ygnacio, January 4, 1703. Your Reverence's obedient servant,

AGUSTIN DE CAMPOS.

CHAPTER II. OF THE EXPEDITION OF THESE PIMAS AGAINST THE HOSTILE APACHES

Since the presidios were not helping as much as was desired in regard to the many invasions and hostilities,⁴

² This might imply that Coro's work was a cause of hostilities.

³ The words in parenthesis are Kino's. His appointment is mentioned on page 40, *post*.

⁴ The removal of Jironza de Cruzate was regretted by the missionaries of the Pimeria Alta frontier.

robberies, and murders (for in regard to the matter many reports were sent to the Señor governor of the district and to his Excellency) which the hostile Apaches committed so frequently and every year, we in the West undertook to make an expedition with the Pimas to the district through which these hostile Apaches are accustomed to travel and come, for on many other occasions these Pimas have achieved fortunate successes and victories. On this point Father Agustin de Campos wrote me on January 28 from his mission of San Ygnacio the following:

Negotiate, your Reverence, with the Sovaipuris children (they are the Pimas of the North) with regard to their making a campaign, conciliating them a little until the time arrives, when I promise to aid with twenty-five beeves, delivered at Guevavi, etc.

The lieutenant of this Pimeria, Captain Juan de Casaos, also wrote, on January 28, these words:

God grant that we may succeed in catching these malevolent Apaches and give them a good chastising. To this end I shall attempt to secure some men from the West, and you, your Reverence, must attempt to secure those of the North, so that altogether they may accomplish something worth while.

And although I was very busy with the building of the two churches of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios and Santiago de Cocospora, the plan being to finish and dedicate them both at the end of this year of 1703, I notified Captain Coro and the Pima and Sovaipuris braves that they should make an expedition to the country through which the hostile Apaches travel and come, the result being that through some good victories by our Pimas the hostile Apaches were greatly restrained, and now molest us somewhat less frequently in this Pimeria.

CHAPTER III. OF THE HOSTILITIES, ROBBERIES,
AND MURDERS WHICH THE ENEMIES COMMIT-
TED THIS YEAR ON THE FRONTIER OF
THIS PROVINCE OF SONORA

For many years the frontiers of the province of Sonora have been much infested by the enemy, and many times, although falsely, these damages which have been and are being committed by the Apaches, and at times by the Hocomes, have been charged to this Pimeria. This has been the sad reason why, by blaming the innocent, and always striking the shoe instead of the nail, the necessary punishment and correction of the culprits have been and are neglected, and they are thus left free to continue their hostilities.

On February 25 the neighboring deputy alcalde mayor of the Real de Bacanuchi, Captain Cristoval Granillo de Zalazar, wrote me the following:

In regard to the enemy I have learned that they have run off horses from Oposura, and the mule drove of Juan Antonio de Tarasona, at Tonivavi. They also ran off the horse herd of the Morenos, but they went out and recovered them. They have made incursions everywhere. I received a letter from the Señor alcalde mayor, who tells me that he has written to the Señor governor of El Parral for the fifteen soldiers of this presidio who are in Tarmaures to come to give him some aid, but I judge that things will be the same as ever. God grant that the Pimas may have good success in their expedition, for little help is to be expected from the captains, because some are lazy, and others engaged in litigation, thereby wasting time and the salary which they receive from the king. God help them and preserve your Reverence for me many years, etc.

On March 16 the father visitor, Antonio Leal, wrote me the following:

I greatly appreciate the news and thank you for the map for the provincial. As to the news of the gathering of the Pimas and the death of two enemies, I have always expected from their expedition all good fortune and victory. Over here many

trails have come in. Near here they killed Manuel de Urquiso; I am just about to bury him. May God keep him in His holy glory. They left him stark naked, scalped him, shot him four times with arrows, wounded him several times with a lance, and killed his horse. They left the tree and bows, but carried off the skins and the iron portions of the saddle. God protect us and keep your Reverence for me. Sinoquipe, March 16, etc.

Thus far the father visitor. At the same time very near there, on the road to San Juan, these same enemies killed the son of Nicolas de la Crus, and in other places they killed others of Arispe. On March 20 Father Francisco Xavier de Mora wrote me these words: "Over here the incessant attacks and signs of the enemy still continue. Commend us to our Lord, your Reverence."

CHAPTER IV. OTHER HOSTILITIES OF THE FORE- GOING ENEMIES, DRAWN FROM THE LETTERS OF THE CAPTAIN LIEUTENANT AND OF THE SEÑOR ALCALDE MAYOR

On February 28 of this year, 1703, the lieutenant of the Real de Bacanuchi, Captain Cristoval Granillo Salazar, wrote me the following:

I am greatly rejoiced at the friendly Pimas. God grant that they may be as successful as we all desire, in order that the enemy may be somewhat chastised, for they are very arrogant on account of the small effort made by our captains to punish them, and are now becoming so bold that there is no hope of help unless God, our Lord, provides it through our friends the Pimas. On February 22, two Indians of Chinapa having come to this valley with some letters, on their return to their pueblo the enemy sallied out upon them and killed one of them. The next day, when they came for the body, they again saw the enemies, who had not yet gone, but who now fled to the sierra. Moreover, I have learned for certain that in Nacosari they killed two other Indians, and that another came to the *real* wounded. Of all of these and many other things which are

happening little notice is taken and no remedy is provided. Poor we would like to do something but cannot for lack of equipment, etc. The captain of the presidio is lazy and the *alférez* is in prison, and because I reported these things to the *Señor alcalde*, he replied as follows:

"SEÑOR CAPTAIN CRISTOBAL GRANILLO DE SALAZAR, My dear Sir: I have just received your letter containing the sad news that the enemies had killed the Indian of Chinapa, and I am greatly grieved to see the inactivity of the soldiers of the presidio of this province, who neither go out on campaigns nor exert themselves at anything else, a cause sufficient to have led the enemies to hold a powerful gathering, of which Father Daniel Janusque ⁵ wrote me yesterday. They are assembled in the Sierra de Tonivavi in great numbers, well armed and provided with shields, and it is presumed that they are planning to devastate some pueblo of this district. For this reason I was compelled by the urgent necessity to despatch some men as an escort, which may find difficulty enough."

Also, Father Oracio Pollize wrote me that these enemies had mortally wounded two Indians of his district, and a few days before had murdered two other Christians between Oputo and Nacosari; but I consider it superfluous to make demands upon the captain of the presidio, for it all ends in meaningless arguments and replies, without his doing anything or fulfilling the obligations of his office, for if he would go out on a campaign the enemies could not hold such powerful gatherings. Be on your guard, your Reverence, and see to it that the citizens of your jurisdiction be on theirs. May God grant us a remedy, for we lack human aid.

Thus far the *Señor alcalde mayor* and the captain of the Real de Bacanuchi.

CHAPTER V. DANGERS OF THE PROVINCE, AND UNFORTUNATE DEATHS OF SOME SOLDIERS

On March 28 the *Señor alcalde mayor*, Juan Mathe Manxe, wrote me thus:

I am extremely busy, for I do not stay at home an hour, nor, on account of the repeated invasions of the multitude of enemies

⁵ See volume i, 131, 139.

which infest this region, am I permitted to stay, for on the high-ways we have experienced misfortunes and many disasters and grievous murders at the hand of the enemies. This is the reason why I have been unable to go to that mission to kiss your Reverence's hand and to enjoy the usual favors which you show me, for my twelve horses are so exhausted and crippled from ascending and descending the rocky sierras that, in view of the dangers to which I expose myself, I fear that I shall perish at the hand of the enemies; for the soldiers neither go out on a campaign nor do anything else, a reason why the enemies will be sure to get possession of the whole province. Now, by dint of importations on requisition, I have obtained some soldiers to go up to the sierra which is between Oposura and Guasavas. Yesterday I came down from it, and today I am going up on the other side. Commend us to God, your Reverence, for good luck.

These are words from the letter which the Señor alcalde mayor wrote me. The Señor lieutenant, Cristoval Granillo de Salazar, on March 12 wrote me the following in regard to the unfortunate deaths of two other soldiers:

I have received your Reverence's letter and appreciate it greatly on account of the success of the friendly Pimas. May God grant them the same in future against our enemies, in order that there may be some degree of security. In this quarter everything is misfortune and failure. A squad of soldiers having gone to convoy a drove of cattle belonging to the captain of this presidio to Janos, on the return march, as they were coming from San Miguel de Bavispe, Sierra de Chiguicagui, two soldiers turned aside to get a young bull which they had left tired out in going; and while they were killing it the enemies sallied out upon them and killed them, their companions being unable to prevent it, because they were some distance behind and occupied with the pack train loaded with saltpetre, etc., while the two soldiers in question were without arms, since they left them on the horses, and the enemies took them. May God provide a remedy for so many misfortunes and bring harmony to this province, so that as Christian vassals of so Catholic a king we may rally to the defence of the territory of his

royal Majesty. I am sending the enclosed letter of the Señor alcalde mayor, who probably is still ignorant of these murders, that your Reverence may read it. The dead are Cristoval de Leon and Domingo, stepsons of Francisco Pacheco.⁶ May God keep them in His holy glory, and guard your Reverence for me. At the first opportunity I will report to the Señor alcalde mayor the good fortune of the friendly Pimas.

Thus far the Señor lieutenant of the Real de Bacanuche.

CHAPTER VI. NEW PRETENDED BUT FALSE RUMORS OF UPRISINGS OR REVOLTS OF THE PIMAS OF THE WEST, THAT IS, OF CAPTAIN SOBA

When all this Pimeria was very quiet and pacific, thanks be to the Lord, and asking for the fathers whom it needed, and those of us well disposed to new conversions were soliciting them, the common enemy and his followers and those little or ill affected to these new missions bruited it about that the Pima Indians of El Soba of the West and the Tepocas were planning to attack the Christian pueblos near the Opatas, in revenge for the murders which had been committed in Pimeria previous to the peace-agreements made on Santa Rosa Day eight years before, in 1695. But, as it was so false the whole thing only served to hinder and delay the eternal blessing of the salvation of these poor creatures, because those who for so long have been speaking ill of this Pimeria and of the new conversions in it and the other neighboring nations farther on have wished to be secure and serve their own ends. But the facts of the case are very well told by the religious pen of a missionary father in what he wrote me in the following letter:

The Indians of Tepoca and Cucurpe, as your Reverence may know, have spread the rumor that the Seris of Tepoca and the

⁶ Pacheco?

Pimas of El Soba plan to attack the Spaniards of the nearby mines of Nuestra Señora de la Soledad, and, later, the pueblos of Cucurpe and Toape, because of the murders committed by the soldiers eight years ago when those disturbances took place. And the scatterers of such a lie do not consider that the Tepoca Seris are those who, with the soldiers, committed the murders among the Pimas. The lieutenant here has received the letter in regard to this matter, and in other places they have received other reports of this nonsense; but the lieutenant must already have been undeceived and have said to the Spanish miners that they are secure from the Cabotcas and the rest of the Pimas, but not so of the Tepocas and Egadeves,⁷ for they are made to kill friendly Indians, their relatives, and then throw the blame on others, while they fulfill their intent, etc.

Thus far the pen of this lover of truth.

CHAPTER VII. WHILE WITH ALL HAPPINESS WE
PIMAS ARE BUILDING CHURCHES, THEY WRONGLY
AND WITH GREAT HINDRANCE TO THE SERVICE
OF GOD AND THE KING CHARGE US WITH
VARIOUS HOSTILITIES, MURDERS,
AND THEFTS

In this month of March two letters are written to me in which, with the celestial favors which, thank God, we are accustomed to experience in these new conversions, the good conduct of these Pimas is declared. But one can not help regretting that by wrongly laying the blame for the evils of some, who are hostile, upon others, who are not, they hinder, as hitherto they have so grievously hindered, the much needed relief for our ills, which consists in the real punishment of the true enemies, thereby causing excessive expense and salaries amounting to more than twenty-two thousand *pesos* from the royal treasury of his Majesty in supporting war, as well as delaying the boon of the eternal salvation of so many souls, peoples, and natives, whom, per-

⁷ Eudeves.

force, they pretend to regard as malevolent evil doers, and robbers, and as barbarous and cruel homicides of so many Christians, which is true of some and not of the others, leaving them intact and not taking the trouble usually necessary to make an expedition against the Apaches, since it is easier to come to the neighboring pacific Pimeria, where the people are gentle and no resistance is encountered, and where there are sufficient sheep and fat beeves, good horses, sufficient provisions, etc. But who does not see how greatly this defrauds God and the king, how great an injustice it is, and how greatly it delays the service of both majesties?

All these months, namely, February, March, April, and part of May, during which time the season for the planting of maize came on, we were zealously building the two new churches of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios and Cocospora. To aid in it there came from all parts a great many Pimas, from the west, the northwest, and the north, especially the very numerous people of San Francisco Xavier del Bac, Captain Coro, their governor, and their other officers coming with their whole families more than fifty leagues' journey, while others came from even more distant places.

These Pimas Sobaipuris of San Xavier del Bac, having returned in May to their rancherías, found that some Indians from farther inland had eaten some of the mares of the drove belonging to the church which they had in their charge. They went in at once to punish the malefactors, beating many and taking away their bows and arrows, besides taking seven children prisoners, which, to compensate for the damage which these malevolent Indians had done to our drove of mares, they sent to Cocospora and Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. They were afterwards catechised and baptized,

and the two oldest girls were married, one to the captain of Cocospora. We have since been in peace and quiet, and I having given an account of this capture and all the rest to the Father Visitor Antonio Leal, his Reverence wrote me on May 29 the following:

Very good news is that which your Reverence imparts to me. I greatly appreciate that in regard to the quietude, fidelity, and firmness of the children of Bac. God keep them in this good disposition; may they see their holy church finished, with a father to attend them,⁸ and may they enjoy it many years, etc.

In the midst of this quietude and firmness of the Pima children, the very false opinions of others, who are little favorable, troubled us greatly. This is very well put by Father Agustín de Campos in the letter recently written me on the occasion of the running off of horses from the frontiers in this month of May by the perpetual enemies, in these words:

I should like to send men to follow the enemy, but illness has destroyed many for me; and, after all, your Reverence's strength is so great that they have not eaten in vain. The governor of Himeris today reports the news. He went at once to Cocospora, though I do not know with how many of his people. It would be better if over there they would spend in following the enemy the time which they waste in affirming that the Pimas are the evil doers; but with them everything ends in talking, as if thereby we could be helped at all. God keep your Reverence for me.

Thus far Father Agustín de Campos, with much experience and reason. [Rubric]

⁸ This indicates that the church at Bac was not yet finished and that there was no resident minister there.

BOOK II. CELESTIAL FAVOR, CONSISTING
OF THE ROYAL CÉDULA OF THE NEW AND
VERY CATHOLIC MONARCH AND CATHO-
LIC KING, PHILIP V, COMING IN THE
MIDST OF THE OPPOSITION, CON-
TRADICTIONS, AND ADVERSITIES
OF THESE NEW CONVERSIONS,
OR NEW PHILIPPINES

CHAPTER I. OF THE MANY ADVERSITIES AND DE-
LAYS OF THESE NEW CONVERSIONS

Since the adversities and tribulations of this world are among the celestial favors which our Lord bestows upon us, in the same way and even more properly than I have related the prosperity in this chapter, I shall set forth some of the many adversities which God inflicted upon us or permitted, while in the other chapters of this book I shall tell of the wonderful relief with which He tempered them for us by His most marvelous and most high providence, and in this year of 1703 and the months following relieved us of every kind of opposition and contradiction, and of great obstacles to these new conversions.

I. An indiscreet and choleric lieutenant, in a report of four sheets which he made and presented to the Señor alcalde mayor, brought formal plea against us, making grave charges, with a sworn affidavit that what he was reporting was the truth. The Señor alcalde mayor came in person with his witnesses, made a careful investigation, and found everything to be very false and untrue, a pure chimera and a piece of malice. He

removed the lieutenant from office and put his head in the stocks.

II. Some of our fathers of these new conversions died, others went away or were taken from us, and some soldiers came in to take away the equipment, and the cattle and horses, both of San Xavier del Bac of the Sovaipuris of the north and of La Consepsion de Caborca. They did it so roughly that it seemed not as if they were removing the things, but rather that they were sacking and destroying those new missions outright, and in such a fashion that the captain of the presidio deplored, reprimanded, and even punished these actions, so unseemly, of those soldiers.

III. Moreover, there were terrifying reports and letters to the effect that no more fathers should come for these new missions, because those who, apart from the foregoing, with their dislike for these conversions, had previously made ill and false reports thereof, and, for their own selfish purposes rejoiced in rendering them impossible, once and for all.

IV. Those who had the least right to do so took away from us our cattle and horses, both near here and in the interior, causing us great injuries and delays.

V. They hindered our good relations and friendly intercourse with the natives of the interior, and stoutly opposed the coming of strangers, both of this Pima nation and of the other surrounding new tribes, the Yumas, Quiquimas, and Cocomaricopas.

VI. They beat, cruelly treated, and persecuted with great severity our poor neophytes and servants, and sometimes they took them away from us with such violence that, for example, an Indian woman, the wife of a governor, went to the woods to die in despair and without being baptized. Moreover, it cost another outside

captain his life, which they took away from him by betraying him with gifts, though he was guilty of no other fault or crime than that of having come with some of his people to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, or having spoken well of this mission and district, and of having contradicted some who, because they were ill-disposed, had spoken ill and falsely of it.

VII. The reports hostile to these new conversions went to such an extreme that during these months it was written from here to Mexico and from Mexico here that time spent in these missions was lost, that nothing was being accomplished, and that there was no profit in them; nor could we secure a lieutenant to aid us in these new conversions, or any legal certifications in our favor. We never could secure anything; and when four new fathers came from Mexico to Sinaloa, although the father visitor wrote me that from them the Pimeria should be provided with fathers, on account of the very malicious and altogether false reports which went to Sinaloa, to the effect that these Pimas had just shot with arrows the father of Arispe, Francisco Xavier de Mora,⁹ no fathers whatever came, nor did there remain any hopes of fathers or of other relief.

CHAPTER II. THE NEW ROYAL *CÉDULA* OF HIS MAJESTY, PHILIP V, IN FAVOR OF THESE NEW CONVERSIONS, ARRIVES, AND THE NEW RECTORATE OF THESE NEW MISSIONS OF THIS PIMERÍA IS BEGUN

When we found ourselves in the midst of contradictions and opposition so great that it was a weariness to live, *Ita ut etiam tæderet vivere*,¹⁰ there came to us

⁹ This circumstance is recorded by Ortega (*Apostólicos Añales*, 310) and by Alegre (*Historia*, vol. iii, 136).

¹⁰ "That it were a weariness to live" (2 Cor., i, 8. *Ita ut tæderet etiam vivere*).

the new royal *cédula* of his Majesty Philip V which, at the same time that without my deserving it, it names me in company with Father Rector Juan Maria Salvatierra,¹¹ very expressly and forcibly, greatly, and entirely favors these new conversions, calling upon his audiencia of Guadalajara, according to custom, for a detailed report in regard to the district in which the uncivilized Indians are found, and to the condition of the conversions of Sinaloa, Sonora, and Nueva Biscaya, that they may be encouraged and continued with the same zeal as hitherto, for the purpose of perfecting a work so greatly to the service of God and to the increase of our holy Catholic faith. These are all words from the royal *cédula* which the father provincial, Francisco de Arteaga, sent me on the twenty-fifth of February through Father Visitor Antonio Leal, who wrote me the following:

With the supplies I have received a letter from the father provincial. In it his Reverence sent me, with the royal *cédula*, three reports by [Father] Picolo, one of which he instructs me to send to you. He sends greetings to your Reverence, and says that he is greatly edified and pleased with your glorious work, etc. He asks that I send him a map of all the missions of this *visita*, with all the pueblos, and, if possible, with the number of people of each pueblo. If your Reverence can make this map I shall be greatly obliged,¹² etc.

Thus far the father visitor. At the same time I received the letter and the new disposition of the father provincial, Francisco de Arteaga, written as early as the twelfth of February of the past year, to the effect that these new missions of this Pimeria should be a separate rectorate, called the rectorate of Nuestra Señora

¹¹ The reference is to the *Cédula* of July 17, 1701, printed in the next chapter. For the new royal orders of 1703 in favor of California, see Chapman, *The Founding of Spanish California*, 21. Chapman surmises that they came largely as a result of Kino's writings.

¹² Father Kino may have made this map but I have not seen it.

de los Dolores, and, without my deserving it, appointing me its first rector.¹³ The father visitor, Antonio Leal, wrote me these words: "I am greatly rejoiced at the title of most worthy rector which your Reverence has received from our father provincial, etc." and the father provincial, Francisco de Arteaga, on February 12 of the past year, 1702, with his own hand wrote me the following:

It is a long time since I have wished your Reverence good health, which I greatly desire may be long continued, that it may be employed so much to the glory of God and the welfare of those heathen, of which I have no doubt, for with the zeal of my very dear fathers, to whom I very cordially commend myself, a large district must have been reduced. In this your Reverence has had the principal part, as its first father and founder, and the one to whom it owes its present state, regarding which I hope for a report, that I may give it to our father general. Over here one of the fathers of California is expected, and when he comes we shall know the condition of that mission, and what means there may be to promote it. May God prosper it and give to all that spirit which he communicated to San Francisco Xavier, that the mission of California as well as that of the Pimería, which I consider as glorious as that of California, may be increased more and more each day.

Thus far the father provincial, Francisco de Arteaga.

CHAPTER III. OF THE REPORT OF THE NEW CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY OF CALIFORNIA WHICH WAS PRINTED IN MEXICO BY FATHER FRANCISCO MARIA PICOLO, WITH THE ROYAL CÉDULA OF JULY 17, 1701, INSERTED

Royal *cédula* which the most pious charity and most Christian zeal of our Catholic monarch, Philip V, God save him, was pleased to grant in the past year of 1701, it being his greatest desire and most diligent care, as a beginning for his happy government, to uphold upon

¹³ See *ante*, page 26.

INFORME
DEL ESTADO DE LA NUEVA
Christiandad de California,
QUE PIDIO POR AUTO, LA REAL AUDIENCIA
DE
GUADALAXARA,
Obedeciendo á la Real Cedula de N. Rey
y Señor,

D. PHELIPE V.

Fecha en Madrid, á 17. de Julio, de 1701.

EN QUE ORDENASV Magestad,

Se le Informe individualmente, á cerca de la Nueva
Christiandad, del Progreso, Augmento, y Poblacion
de aquel Nuevo Reyno.

DADO, Y RESPONDIDO.

á dicha Real Audiencia de Guadaluaxara

POR EL P. FRANCISCO MARIA PICOLO DE LA
Compañia de JESUS,

*Uno de los primeros fundadores de dichas Misiones de California,
en las quales ha vivido en compañía del Padre Rector JUAN
MARIA DE SALVATIERRA, estos cinco años
que entraron en aquellas tierras.*

his royal shoulders, like a new and most Christian Atlas, this new American world, full of countless souls who are in the shadow of death. His most Christian and magnanimous heart coöperating in this cause, it appears that as an exordium of his royal scepter and as first fruits of his crown, God our Lord offers him California, another new world of souls in his Catholic hands, that he may protect it, augment it, and reduce it to the holy Catholic church at the expense of his royal estate; wherefore his Majesty sent the present royal *cédula*, of the following tenor:

THE KING

Very Reverend father in Christ, Archbishop of the metropolitan church of Mexico, my viceroy and captain-general of the provinces of New Spain *ad interim*, Don Joseph Sarmiento de Valladares. Your predecessor in those charges reported in a letter of May 5, 1698, the just motives which he had for giving a license to Juan Maria de Salvatierra and Eusevio Francisco Kino, religious of the Company of Jesus, to go to the Californias to attempt the conversion of those heathen; and in another of October 20, 1699, he informed me of the benefits which had resulted from the expedition of these religious ^{13a} into that province, and stated that since this undertaking up to that time had been maintained and paid for by persons devoted and zealous for the greater honor of God, these religious had represented to him that these alms might diminish and even fail altogether; and that in that case they might be obliged to end this glorious exploit through not being able to support themselves and the commanders and soldiers whom they had taken for their escort and to garrison a presidio which they had established; and in order to obviate this danger they prayed that he would aid them with a subsidy paid from the royal estate, since it was his obligation to do so.

The viceroy says that although he considers this memorial very just, he has decided not to consent to it before reporting it to me; and the Council of the Indies having seen these letters and the other papers bearing upon the matter, and having con-

^{13a} Kino did not go to California.

sulted me thereupon, I have resolved that by no means shall the settlement and mission of the Jesuits lately established in the Californias be abandoned or forsaken, but, rather, that they shall be extended and promoted by all the means possible; and to this end I charge you to give me a very detailed report of the state of the fortification and settlement, what number of persons compose it, and how many persons can be maintained; and if it is expedient that there be vessels to facilitate communication between that province and that kingdom, likewise you will report to me the method by which they can be introduced and maintained; and the places where the uncivilized Indians are found, and the condition of the conversions of Sinaloa, Sonora, and Nueva Biscaya, in order that with these notices and your opinion I may take the measures which I may consider expedient, in order to perfect that work which was begun so many years ago and which is so greatly to the service of God and the increase of our holy Catholic faith.

And since it is just and necessary to assist these religious with some amount to aid in defraying the expenses of this conversion and in maintaining the officers and soldiers who may escort them and garrison the presidio which they have established, I have resolved, also, that now and at once they be assigned and paid six thousand *pesos* each year from those treasuries. And I charge you to give the proper orders that on your part you may stimulate and encourage them to continue in the enterprise with the same zeal as hitherto, and that you thank in my royal name the persons who have aided them with their alms for their zeal and for the service which thereby they have done me, and that you stimulate them to continue in so great a work, following the example of what I have ordered appropriated from my royal estate.

And, keeping in mind the fact that Alonso Fernandes de la Torre, formerly a citizen of the villa of Compostela in the province of Nueva Galicia, left as heirs of his considerable estates the religious of the Company of Jesus, with the obligation to support two missions in Sinaloa and Sonora, and that in regard to this there is a lawsuit pending in the Audiencia of Guadalupe, I charge you also that, in case it be decided in their favor, you treat and confer with the provincial and superior of

this order in regard to the means of applying the income from the estates to the missions of Sonora and Cinaloa which are now supported from my royal estate, or to those newly established in the Californias, in such a way that if they are applied to those of Cinaloa and Sonora and do not cover all the expense thereof, the balance shall be supplied from the same sources that supplied the whole, and that what is left over from what was paid from my royal estate for those of Sinaloa and Sonora, be applied to those of the Californias, in addition to the six thousand *pesos* which henceforth I assign to them, as has been stated.

And these religious bearing in mind that this inheritance is to be spent for missions in the Californias, there shall be no change in what is given from my royal estate for those of Sinaloa and Sonora. And you will discuss with them as to the best, most expedient, and surest means available for initiating this matter of so very great importance; for, with regard to the most speedy termination of the lawsuit, I am giving the appropriate order to the president and the Audiencia of Guadalaxara. And I charge the bishop of that diocese that in case some commutations are necessary because Alonso Fernandes de la Torre provided that these two missions should be founded in Cinaloa and Sonora, though they are more necessary in the Californias, he shall attend to the matter as the one whom it immediately concerns, bearing in mind conciliar decisions which treat of the question of commutations; and to apprise you of whatever may occur to him in this matter; and the Audiencia and the President of Guadalaxara I order to do the same, so that you, being informed of everything, may apply the means and measures which I entrust to you on account of your great zeal and of the obligation which rests upon you by virtue of the office which you hold; and of this despatch the accountants who reside in my Council of the Indies will make a record. Madrid, July 17, 1701.

I THE KING.

CHAPTER IV. SUCCINCT RELATION WHICH FATHER FRANCISCO MARIA PICOLO, OF THE COMPANY OF JESUS, MADE IN REGARD TO THE NEW CONVERSION AND PRESENTED TO THE ROYAL AUDIENCIA OF GUADALAXARA, AT THEIR ORDER

"VERY EMINENT SIR: Obeying with complete submission the mandate of your Highness in regard to the points upon which you were pleased by *auto* of February 7, 1702,¹⁴ to order me to report, relative to the condition of the new undertaking in the kingdom of Cali-

¹⁴ This relation was prepared at Guadalajara in response to the royal cédula of July 17, 1701. Several versions of it have been printed. Kino's copy is from the official print published by Picolo in Mexico. The exact title is given in the "Bibliography." Kino's copy is faithful in the essentials but he abbreviates the title and departs from the original in matters of punctuation and spelling. The report appears in *Lettres Édifiantes et Curieuses* (Paris, 1702-1776; Lyon, 1819). It is retranslated into Spanish from that version in *Cartas Edificantes* (Madrid, 1754), vol. iii, 112-129, under the title *Memorial sobre el estado de las Misiones Nuevamente establecidas en la California por los Padres de la Compañía de Jesus, presentado á la Audiencia Real de Guadalaxara en el Reyno de Mexico á 10 Febrero del año 1702 por el Padre Francisco María Picolo, de la Misma Compañía, y uno de los Primeros Fundadores de dicha Mission*. An abbreviated version of the French translation is given in *Recueil de Voyages au Nord* (Amsterdam, 1715), 278-287, under the wrong date of February 10, 1703. A German translation is given in Stöcklein, *Der neue Welt-Bott*, vol. iii, 34-40, num. 72. An English version, translated from the *Lettres Édifiantes* (notwithstanding the statement which it bears that it is "translated from the Spanish") is in Lockman's *Travels of the Jesuits*, vol. i, 395-408. For other versions see Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i, 426. A contemporary manuscript version of the report entitled *Informe de Francisco María Picolo, A.S.M.* is in the Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-3-28. Of this I have a transcript before me. A careful comparison of the various versions shows that there are two somewhat distinct, although basically identical reports. The original print and the Ms. *Informe* are much fuller than the other versions cited, and are practically identical with each other. I shall refer to the *Cartas Edificantes* version, as the *Memorial*. The *Lettres Édifiantes* version, on which dependence has hitherto been placed, is evidently based on the *Informe* and in many parts is briefer. On the other hand, although it bears the same date, it contains occasional additions, which are apparently of a later date.

fornia, I respond with as much disingenuousness as truth, adding nothing to what we have done, to what with our own eyes we have seen, or to what we have discovered and observed, Father Rector Juan Maria de Salvatierra and I, he as author of this prodigious enterprise, and I as his companion, from the year 1697 to that of 1702. Coming to the first point, in regard to the state of this conversion:

"1. Let me say, sir, that at present it is very prosperous, and that so favorable a beginning gives good hopes of the reduction of so extensive a kingdom as this to our holy faith. Being so glorious an enterprise, it has been more of heaven than of earth; and being rather one of the most holy Mary than of some poor religious, good fortune was certain to attend it, and with so powerful an arm we were able to be the instrument of prodigies; for, trusting in her patronage, we crossed the sea¹⁵ which in that region divides these kingdoms from California, taking as the guiding star of our voyage that star of the sea, the most devoted image of the Lady of Loreto, which led us without mishap to the desired port. There, she being set up as decently as the country and our poverty would permit, we placed the undertaking in her hands, in order that, as hers, it might continue on her account, and that she, who had been so favorable a star of the sea during our voyage, might be in the land of the Californias a beneficent sun, which, with the light of her intercession, should expel the darkness of heathendom which was blinding those who were living in the shadows of death.

"As soon as this brightest of suns shone in that new hemisphere, the Prince of Darkness,¹⁶ in order not to

¹⁵ The *Memorial* inserts the date, October, 1697.

¹⁶ "El Padre de las tinieblas" becomes plain "El Demonio" in the *Memorial*.

lose his ancient and peaceful possession of the souls of those poor people, brought it about that they should be more blinded, through the splendor of so bright a day, so that in the night of his ill-omened darkness they might worship him through the moon, which they adored. And as he blinded their understandings, they could not comprehend the words of the light which, with resplendent rays, spoke the language of heaven for their welfare, while we, upon hearing a language which we had not known, could not in ours, which they had not heard, make known to them the high purpose, for them so advantageous, which had taken us to their lands. And although we had gone to their shores solely to seek the precious pearls of their souls, to nurture them with the heavenly dew of the Divine Word, and to give them their luster in Christ, showing them the celestial shell Mary, who conceived for their good, with the gentle dew of heaven, the perfect pearl of first luster, Christ, they thought that we came like others who at other times, sometimes not without injury to their people, had landed on their shores in search of the many and rich pearls which were produced in the countless fisheries of their coasts.

“With this opinion quickened at the instigation of the Devil, well-armed and in great numbers they attacked our little guard, composed of a few Spaniards who, in the protection of most holy Mary, had a well-ordered army. The barbarians made such an assault, with such fury and so thick a shower of arrows and stones that if the Lady had not constituted an army to resist it, those poor soldiers would have perished and we with them, and our purpose would have been frustrated. But in the ardor of the sovereign influence, the strength of the soldiers was so great that the multitude

of barbarians was repulsed and fled in terror from their arms.

“With this glorious triumph their pride was humbled, for, although barbarians, they recognized that this must be the condition upon which they would be free from the force of our arms. Some of them came to our camp, and through intercourse with them enough was learned to enable us to tell them, in their language, the purpose of our arrival in their country. They understood it well, and as a result of the report which they gave to others, many came to see us and even to thank us for the good which we were bringing them. Then, through easy intercourse with them, we devoted all our efforts to learning their language, which is the Monqui. This difficulty having been overcome, for two whole years we preached to them and taught them the doctrine, Father Rector Juan Maria Salvatierra teaching the adults and I the children, with such persistence on our part and such application on theirs that of the boys and girls who were now sufficiently instructed many were baptized, in response to the great insistency and the tears with which they asked for baptism. The same happiness was experienced by some sick and old adults who knew it was necessary and were in danger of death without baptism, some of whom, it appears, waited no longer than for the door of heaven to be opened for them that they might enter therein. This happened also with more than fifty infants who, from the arms of their mothers, delivered their souls to the hands of the Lord.

“In the meantime, while this attention was being given to teaching, we did not neglect to explore the surrounding districts, Father Rector Juan Maria Salvatierra toward the north and I toward the south and

west, because, as we already knew the language, and the natives were now satisfied of our good intentions, they themselves invited us to their lands and rancherías and asked for the blessing which their neighbors already enjoyed, for which cause they brought us their children. Not neglecting to teach those whom we had at home, we set out in search of those who asked for us, and by means of these excursions Father Rector Juan Maria explored all of the rancherías comprised in the missions of Loreto Concho and San Juan de Londo. I explored the mission of San Francisco Xavier Biaundo, which opened a door for me through which to go to the opposite coast;¹⁷ and I explored all the rancherías which are noted in the proper place.

“Father Rector Juan María having now discovered on the north side and I on the south and west a copious harvest, we divided into two missions, and soon we noticed that there was a mingling in them of nations of different languages, one, the Monqui, which we already knew, and the other the Laimon, which we did not know. Immediately we set about with all diligence to learn the latter, and because it is the dominating language, and appears to be the general one in this extensive kingdom, with continued study we learned it quickly, and in it we preach continually and teach the Christian doctrine to the Laimones, as in the Monqui to the Monquis. With this great aid there have been prepared more than a thousand children, who, because of their good disposition and tender entreaties have received baptism, while more than three thousand adults are now ready for it and desire and ask for it. But we, by agreement, have put them off for a better time, because, as these nations are by nature very fickle and pre-

¹⁷ The *Memorial* says “hasta el mar del Sud.”

vously have lived much under the authority of their priests, whom they feed, and clothe for their superstitious ceremonies with their hair, which they cut for this purpose,¹⁸ if we baptized them we should run the risk that their priests might pervert them and that we should be unable to make them fulfill their obligations as Christians through our being without the necessary force; therefore, in order not to expose our Catholic religion to derision we have deferred their baptism to a better season. The rule is for these adult catechumens to go every Saturday and Sunday to instruction, in which they are accompanied by the children already baptized, and for the latter to go every Sunday to mass, at which they aid very well; and they practice praying together in their rancherías. In this happy state at present is the conversion of California.”

CHAPTER V. OF THE FORTIFICATION, SETTLEMENTS, AND MISSIONS FOUNDED, AND OF THE SOLDIERS AND VESSELS OF CALIFORNIA

“2. The condition of the fortification is fair.¹⁹ It is situated in the estuary of San Dionicio, on the seacoast, at a place called by the natives Conchó and now Loreto Conchó. This fortification consists of an intrenchment made in the form of a square and large enough for a good *plaza de armas* and quarters for the soldiers.²⁰ At a distance of two arquebus shots is the chapel of Nuestra Señora de Loreto, and next to it the dwelling house of the father missionary, with workrooms, a good garden, and a well, arranged for a chain pump. The chapel, the father missionary's house, and the quarters

¹⁸ Omitted from the *Memorial*.

¹⁹ This paragraph is placed near the end of the *Memorial* (p. 126).

²⁰ The *Memorial* (p. 126) adds: “The fortification has four small bastions, and is surrounded by a good moat.”

of the soldiers, are made of good adobe, with tile roofs.

"3. The state of the settlements as they are at present is as follows: Three²¹ missions have been founded. The first is that of Nuestra Señora de Loreto Conchô, the second that of San Francisco Xavier Biaundo, and the third that of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, called by the natives Yodiviggé.

"Each one of these missions has under its charge various *rancherías*.²² To the mission of Loreto Conchô belong the people of Conchô: to the north, those of Jettí, distant three leagues, those of Tuesddú,²³ distant four leagues, and those of Ligiggí, distant two leagues; toward the south there belong to it those of Vonú, distant two leagues, those of Nunpoló, four leagues, those of Chuyenquí, nine leagues, those of Ligguí, twelve leagues, those of Tripue, fourteen leagues, and those of Loppú, fifteen leagues. To the mission of San Francisco Xavier Viaundo belong the *rancherías* of Biaundo: to the west the people of Cuibucó, now called Santa Rosalia, distant from this principal mission four leagues; to the south, those of Quimiauma, now El Anxel de la Guarda, distant two leagues; those of Lichu, now El Serro de Caballero, distant three leagues; those of Picolopri, distant twelve leagues, those of Yenuyomú, distant five leagues; those of Undua, six leagues; those of Enulailo, ten leagues; those of Ontta, fifteen leagues; those of Onemaitô, twenty leagues; toward the north, those of Nuntís, three leagues; and of Obbe, eight leagues. The same mission of San Francisco

²¹ The *Memorial* (p. 116) says four, "the fourth, which is not yet founded or entirely established, is that of San Juan de Londo." See page 54.

²² The *Memorial* reads *pueblos* for *rancherías*.

²³ The original print gives the Indian names in this passage as follows: Conchô, Londô, Biaundô, Monquí, Laymon, Yodiviggé, Jettí, Tuyddú, Ligiggé, Vonù, Numpolô, Chuyenqui, Ligguí, Loppù, Cuivucô, Quimiaumà, Picolopri, Yenuyomú, Unduâ, Enulaylô, Ontta, Onemaitô, Nunteî, Obbè, Niumquí, Unubbè, Lôdô, Teupnon, Anchû, Tamonquí, Diutrô, Tripuè, Loppù.

Xavier has a spacious chapel,²⁴ with dwelling adjoining for the father missionary, and it already has a church begun. Everything is of adobe and tiles.²⁵ It has gardens in which are raised very good garden-stuff, such as cabbages and lettuce, and fruit trees of the kinds raised on this side, which bear quickly. To the mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores belong the rancherías of Yodivineggé: those of Niunqui, which are now called San José, being many in number and close together; to the northward, those of Unubbi. This mission is visited and attended by Father Rector Juan Maria Salvatierra.

"These are the three missions which have been founded and endowed. The first two Bachelor Don Juan Cavallero y Ocio, priest commissioner of the court of the Holy Office of the Inquisition and of the Santa Crusada, founded and endowed with twenty thousand *pesos* principal and five hundred of income each year for each mission; and besides the founding of these missions he has aided us these five years with more than twenty-five thousand *pesos*,²⁶ a liberality characteristic of this gentleman, who, it would seem, was born to conserve Christian piety in this New Spain. The mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores was financed and endowed by the gentlemen of the Illustrious Congregation of Dolores de la Virgen, founded in the College of San Pedro y San Pablo of the Company of Jesus in Mexico, by the zeal of its prefect, Father Joze Vidal,²⁷ of our Company. Its endowment consists of eight thousand *pesos* principal and four hundred of income a

²⁴ The *Memorial* was evidently written later than this document, for it says here they had had (*haviámos*) a chapel but, it being very small, "a large and capacious church has been begun" (p. 117).

²⁵ The *Memorial* (p. 117) says of the new church "the walls will be of adobe (*ladrillo*) and the roof of wood."

²⁶ This item is omitted from the *Memorial*.

²⁷ This item is omitted from the *Memorial*.

year.²⁸ Besides these three missions already founded there is another begun, called by the natives Londó, now San Juan. To this belong Teupnon, or San Bruno, distant three leagues to the eastward; to the northward, the people of Hanchá, three leagues distant; to the westward, those of Tamonqui, four leagues, and Diutró, six leagues; and other distant rancherías,²⁹ which go to San Juan on the arrival of Father Rector Juan Maria Salvatierra, whose apostolic zeal extends to many places.

"4. In company with Father Rector Juan Maria Salvatierra I left Father Juan de Ugarte, of our Company, who about a year before had come to those kingdoms, after having aided much in the office of procurator, which he had filled in Mexico.³⁰ In this short time he had employed himself with such zeal to aiding us that by himself he had explored to the southward the rancherías of Tripué and Loppú, fifteen leagues³¹ distant from Loreto. Of these rancherías he has baptized twenty-three infants, given him by their parents for this purpose. He already preaches and teaches the doctrine in the two languages above-mentioned. I left also with Father Rector Juan Maria Salvatierra eighteen soldiers, with their officers. Of the latter two are married and have wives and children. I left eight other persons, Chinese and Negro servants; and in the two launches, called *San Xaxier* and *El Rosario*, twelve sailors. Besides those whom I left there, there are twelve other sailors whom I took with me in the ship *San Joseph*. There were other soldiers, but we have

²⁸ This item is omitted from the *Memorial*.

²⁹ Omitted from the *Memorial*.

³⁰ The *Memorial* (p. 118) adds that Ugarte himself made a gift to the mission a year before.

³¹ Distance omitted from the *Memorial*.

discharged them, because of not having wherewith to pay them, nor even to support them.”³²

CHAPTER VI. NATURE, CLIMATE, FERTILITY, AND
FRUITS OF THE COUNTRY; SALINES, PEARLS, AND
MINERALS; RANCHERÍAS, ARMS, AND DISPOSI-
TION OF THE NATIVES; ANIMALS, BIRDS,
AND FISH OF CALIFORNIA

“5. It seems that under the influence of the new star Mary, who has appeared in her holy image of Loreto, the quality of the country has changed and is better than it was before, for during the five years we have all had good health, and only two persons have died. One of these was a Spanish woman who died from a disorder caused by bathing when she was pregnant and very near delivery. On the shores in summertime the heat is humid and it rains but little; but inland the temperature is benign and mild. It is hot in season, but not excessively so, and the same is true of the winter. During the rainy season there is plentiful rainfall; and in all parts outside of the rainy season the dew is so heavy at times that in the mornings it looks like rain. With so continuous and abundant watering, the pleasant fields are all the year clad with excellent pasturage, which in the dry season is between green and dry. For the most part it consists of stretches of tall grama-grass; besides, in these fields there are all the herbs which constitute the pasturage of cattle, sheep, and goats of these kingdoms. There are very large and spacious plains, beautiful meadows, very pleasant valleys, many springs, creeks, and rivers, with banks well grown with willows amid thick tangles of reed-grass and wild grapevines.

“A land so fertile must bear fruits. Those which are

³² These items about servants, launches, sailors, and soldiers are all omitted from the *Memorial*.

indigenous to the country are abundant, for the hills are full of *mescales* all the year, and for a great part of the year they are laden with large and various *pitajayas* and red *tunas*. There is an abundance of trees, which the Chinese, from the knowledge which they have of those in their country,⁸³ call *palo santo* (holy wood). These produce for food a little fruit in abundance and exude a very pleasant incense. There are also many red beans which the natives gather and of which they provide large stores to eat. They have for food more than fourteen kinds of seeds, as for example, hempseed, canary seed, etc. Roots serve them for the same purpose. There is a great abundance of yucca, which is their daily bread. There are very good and sweet camotes; and there is scarcely a root or plant or tree from which they do not secure food. In order that sugar, which with so great artifice and toil is made over here, may not be lacking to the Californians, heaven provides them with it in abundance in the months of April, May, and June, in the dew which at that time falls upon the broad leaves, where it hardens and coagulates.⁸⁴ They gather large quantities of it, and I have seen and eaten it. It is as sweet as sugar to the taste, and differs only in the refraction, which makes it dark. There is also an abundance of wild grapevines near the rivers, as has been said, and in the rivers there are fish and shrimp, which they catch; and it may be that they have them in the great lagoons which are there, but I have not noticed them, although I have seen three very large lagoons. They have also a great abundance of *jicamas*,^{84a} which are better flavored than ours.

⁸³ This passage seems plainly to imply that by Chinos are meant Chinese, but the *Memorial* (p. 120) says "which the Chinos (as they call the natives of the country) call Palo Santo."

⁸⁴ Omitted from the *Memorial*.

^{84a} *Bumelia solscifolia*.

"From all these products which the land yields of itself, its great fertility is seen, and it is better seen by the products of this country after it has received and returned them with extraordinary harvest. There have been planted maize, chick-peas, lentils, and beans, and all have produced well in proportion to the small amount which in every case has been planted, because of not having implements to cultivate the soil, nor the assistance of men nor of anyone who understands it, nor more time than the little which is left over from the work of cultivation of the souls of these poor people. I, for the relief of our poverty, as well as for the sake of experiment, have planted a little maize, without being able to prepare the soil except with a bad plough, and it has yielded well, producing more than in these kingdoms; and the same was true of beans, of which a large quantity was gathered; and in imitation some Californians planted a little maize, without any cultivation, and harvested it. Some of the wheat which had been sown as an experiment has been cooked and hosts made of it. I planted pumpkins, melons, and watermelons, and the land is so fertile that they yielded with extraordinary abundance, some of the same plants bearing fruit three times in a year. All this promises a great plenty of products when there shall be people to cultivate the land and to avail themselves of its fertility and of the abundance of water, where, with very little effort, there can be very good harvests of the many products which the land bears. In point of plants it may already rejoice in the reputation of being fertile and abundant, as well as being rich in other products.

"There are very many large salines of very white salt, whose brilliance resembles that of crystal, and which is so hard that sometimes the aid of the bar is necessary. A sample has already been seen in this

country, and this is like all the rest. In all the coast, and especially in the adjacent islands, there are so many pearl fisheries that they can be counted by the thousands. This abundance of pearls has made California famous in the world, and has made it for almost two centuries the target of human desires, and for this treasure so many have undertaken its exploration and so many have visited its shores and continue to visit them with no other object than that of pearls. From the salt entire ships might be laden for these kingdoms; from the pearls his Majesty, God save him, might, if he chose, increase his royal estate, with a person satisfactory and zealous only for the royal possessions. The interior country promises many minerals, being in the same latitude with the rich minerals of Sinaloa and Sonora.

“6. All this fertility and wealth God placed in California only to be unappreciated by the natives, because they are of a race who live satisfied with merely eating. From what we have seen and heard of them, these Californians are numerous on the shores, farther inland, and much more numerous to the northward. They live in *rancherías* of twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty families, more or less. They do not use houses. The shade of the trees serves them to resist the scorching heat of the sun, and the branches and leaves to protect them at night from the inclemency of the weather. In the rigor of winter they live in caves which they make in the earth; and in all these shelters they dwell many together, like brutes. So far as we have seen, the men go naked. In general they wear nothing but a band, well woven, and, in default of this, a curious little net with which they encircle the front, and some well wrought figures in mother-of-pearl which they hang round the neck, which they sometimes decorate with some little

round fruits, like beads. They put the same ornament on their hands. They always carry in their hands their weapons, which are the bow, arrow, and dart, sometimes for the chase, and sometimes to defend themselves from their enemies, for some of the rancherías are hostile to others. The women are more modestly clothed, being covered from the waist to the knees with little stems of reed-grass carefully woven and pressed together. Behind, in the same way, they wear deer skins, or threads well woven. Their head-dress is a little net which they obtain from grasses, or of fiber which they obtain from the agaves. These little nets are so nicely made that the soldiers tie up their hair with them. Their necklaces, which hang almost to the waist, are figures of mother-of-pearl, and little berries, stems of reed grass, and small snails, intermingled. The bracelets are of the same material.

"The occupation of the men as well as of the women is the spinning of thread and fiber, fine and coarse. Of the fine they weave very close-wrought bands and the nicely-made little nets. Of the coarse they weave nets of which they make bags or reticules in which to gather their provisions, and nets for fishing. Of grasses the men make very close-woven baskets, or hampers, of different sizes. The small ones serve as jars from which to drink water, as plates for eating, and as hats for women. The large serve for gathering small fruits and other provisions, and in which to roast their small fruits, by dint of keeping them in continual motion so as not to burn them.

"By nature they are very lively and alert, qualities which they show, among other ways, by ridiculing any barbarism in their language, as they did with us when we were preaching to them. When they have been do-

mesticated they come after preaching to correct any slip in the use of their language. If one preaches to them any mysteries contrary to their ancient errors, the sermon ended, they come to the father, call him to account for what he has said to them, and argue and discuss with him in favor of their error with considerable plausibility; but through reason they submit with all docility.³⁵ By these evidences of intelligence they show that they ought not to be counted among the brutes of that kingdom. Of these there are many and various, many of which serve for the palate and for sustenance, and others only to beautify the fields and woods with their variety.

"7. For there are so many deer, roe, hares, and rabbits, that, although they kill many or all of them, they are nevertheless to be seen in droves. There are two species of wild animals that are not known in these kingdoms which, because of some resemblance, they call sheep. One of the species is an animal as large as a lamb a year and a half old. Its head is like a deer's; the horns, which are extraordinarily thick, are like a sheep's; the hoof is large, round, and cloven, like that of an ox; the hair is like that of a deer, but shorter, and somewhat spotted; the tail is very short; the flesh is very good, and I have eaten it with a relish. The other species is an animal nowise different from our sheep except that it is larger. Of this species some are white and some dark. They are very woolly, and their wool I have had prepared for spinning.³⁶ Of both species

³⁵ At this point the *Memorial* (p. 125) adds: "*No hemos hallado entre ellos forma alguna de gobierno, ni apenas culto reglado de Religion. Adoran la Luna y se cortan los cabellos, no sé si en la menguante, en honra de su divinidad, y se los dan à sus Sacerdotes, y estas se sirven de ellos para varias supersticiones. Cada familia se hace las leyes que quiere, y pienso que es la razon, y motivo de las querellas, que muchas veces se levantan, hasta venir à los manos entre las familias.*"

³⁶ This animal was evidently the mountain sheep or big-horn.

there are droves. All these animals serve for food. Those which serve for adornment are lions, wildcats, and the others which are known over here.

"Of flying creatures there is an abundance. There are all the birds of these kingdoms, such as mocking birds, larks, scissor tails, cardinals, etc. Besides these the country abounds in linnets smaller than those of Spain, but nowise different from them in their song and coloring. These are among the birds which serve for delight, with sweetness to the ear. There is a multitude of partridges which serve as a relish to the taste, besides pigeons and turtle-doves. In the rivers there are geese, ducks, and other fowls which seek their food in the water.

"To these animals native to the country we have added many of ours, for there are already more than a thousand head of sheep and goats, which by now would be very numerous, because of the extensive pastures of that country, if we had not laid hands on them because of the great need which we have suffered. This kind of stock grows very well and is very fat all the year round. There are also a few cattle, which, for the same reason, have not increased very much. The country is very well adapted to these cattle, and to horses also. Of the latter there are a few, including young mares for breeding purposes. There were many swine, but we consumed them because the women were afraid of them and suffered some injuries from them in their rancherías. There are doves and Castilian birds, for all of which the country is good.

"Besides this, the Californians near the sea enjoy very good fish, in which that sea is very prolific. There are many tunnies, which are accustomed to come to hand on the shores; and many pargo, pampano, sardines, anchovies, and many other kinds. This sea abounds greatly in whales, which are seen on every

hand. There are tortoises of all kinds, and on the shores there are heaps of various shells larger than those formed by the pearl oyster which they take from the pearl fisheries."

CHAPTER VII. IT IS ASKED THAT IN CALIFORNIA
THERE BE TWO VESSELS, AND MORE MISSION-
ARY FATHERS, A PRESIDIO OF SOLDIERS,
AND FAMILIES OF SETTLERS, ETC.

"8. An account of California and its condition has now been given. In order that everything may be attained and promoted to the greater glory of God and the service of our Catholic monarch, God save him, two vessels are necessary, one a larger one which can come to the coasts of these kingdoms for cattle and supplies, and another, medium-sized, which may go to coasts of Sinaloa and Sonora, very near to California, for the aid which may be brought immediately from the missions of the Company, and also to explore the coast to the northward, for which purpose it will be well that the medium-sized vessel be a brigantine or a galliot. For these vessels there is no need of captains, pilots, or other officers, who would occasion great expense to his Majesty; those who are there now and such others as may go there are sufficient, for there are many experienced persons without these offices who with great skill and ease run this short course. In this way we have maintained ourselves all this time without having lacked anything, saving thereby the high salaries which, indeed, are superfluous.

"I have complied, sir, with your Highness's mandate, arranging my report according to the well-considered points which your Highness was pleased to suggest to me, in order that I might give an account of the state of California, whence I have just come, and where I was

the lesser instrument in what our Lord has been pleased to accomplish through the intercession of the most holy Virgin and by the great zeal of Father Rector Juan Maria Salvatierra, head of this glorious enterprise. And now, as it appears that your Highness's purpose has been to inform the pious and zealous Catholic king, Don Philip V, God save him, according to the signs which his sovereign protection gives of extending the empire of Christ with a great number of converts in this kingdom, that they may adorn the crown of his Catholic mercy, it will not be out of keeping with the mandates of your Highness to represent to you, as a very loving vassal of so Catholic a monarch, what will help to bring it about that, the empire of Christ being extended by his sovereign influence over the converts, the glory of his crown may increase with the increase of his vassals.

"1. For so glorious an end and so abundant a harvest as that which at present invites one's fervent zeal, it will be well that there should be more missionaries, in order that they may penetrate to the interior and found new missions, because with so few as we have been it will not be easy either to keep up what has already been established or to found other new missions.³⁷

"2. Also, a presidio of Spaniards, such as one of those which are in the Kingdom of Nueva Viscaya, is very necessary, because, since the Californians are very numerous, and since there is no one there to rely upon, and as recourse from there to this kingdom is not easy, this restraint will be expedient, in order that they may

³⁷ The recommendations at the end of the *Memorial* (pp. 127-128) are: (1) a reward for the first soldiers who went to California; (2) that "noble" families be secured for settlers; (3) that missionaries and military chiefs live in harmony; (4) that the missionaries be relieved of charge of the soldiers; (5) that an intendant or commissary be appointed.

always be quiet and that the conversion may be promoted. It will also be well, for this purpose, to provide that the presidio be placed in a convenient post whence, as from a center, the garrison may go out to all parts where aid may be necessary.

"3. It will be no less important for the purpose that the father rector, on consultation, should choose officers, or remove them, whenever it conduces to the service of God and of his Majesty, as hitherto Father Juan Maria and I have done, in virtue of the despatch of his Excellency, the viceroy of Spain, the Conde de Moctesuma, Don Jose Sarmiento Valladares. To this provision has been due such success as there has been, and the fact that inconveniences which might have been a hindrance have been avoided.

"4. And since the great progress which California shows today is due to the valor of the first soldier conquerors, it will be well that his Majesty be pleased to give them some reward, in order that, in imitation of their works, those who may come in future may be encouraged to gain this reward.

"5. It will be a wise provision to have that kingdom settled by some families of artisans, in order that so apt a nation may later exercise the crafts for the benefit of those kingdoms.

"6. In order that the principal obligations of the conversion may be attended to, that temporal cares may not be an embarrassment, and that everything may be close at hand, it will be expedient that the royal appropriation for California be placed in the royal chest of Guadalajara, nearer to that kingdom.

"7. And because the passing of payments through the hands of the fathers is a hindrance to their ministry, it will be well that his Majesty should appoint a trust-

worthy and meritorious person, with the title of *adelantado* or *proveedor general*, to attend to aiding the fathers and soldiers and to look after the settlements which may be made, working with zeal only for the conversion of this kingdom, so that what has cost so much may not be lost through ambition.

"This, sir, is the humble representation which I make to your Highness in order that in it your Highness may see, with your mature and prudent judgment, what is most expedient to report to the Catholic zeal of his Majesty, and although, obliged by so superior a mandate, I have reported the state of the Californias and, on the other hand, what will be conducive to their most glorious progress, I was constrained to place myself at the feet of your Highness to accomplish the purpose and aim of my coming from those kingdoms to these, in order that with the great piety which shines and is venerated in your Highness, you might remove the great obstacles and relieve the lack of necessities which the father rector, Juan Maria de Salvatierra, has experienced in these years; for, because he was so devoid of means to advance the discovery, and was debtor for great amounts which by their toil and pains these poor conquerors have earned, and not having the means to pay what he already owed them and obligations which must in future be incurred, he had determined to dismiss them all, and that we should remain alone in that kingdom, which is as full of dangers as of heathen. But this determination being announced, the soldiers resisted it with all piety, and gladly remained to accompany the fathers.

"For this reason, and as a recompense of so Christian a resolution, it was arranged that I should come to seek the aid and have the good fortune of venerating the

great authority and piety of your Highness, to whom I looked as a guiding star for the success of my coming. When I arrived in this kingdom, seeking comfort from pious hearts, I found it in the news of what the Catholic breast of our great king had given us in the grant of six thousand *pesos* a year,^{37a} whereby my mind was relieved and great hopes were raised of holding these kingdoms through the aid of your Highness. This may serve for the complete relief of those of us who in these years would have perished if it had not been for the missionary fathers of Sonora, Sinaloa, and Los Tarmaures, who, as is their wont, with charitable zeal and solicitude for the welfare of the souls of the heathen, have succored us whenever we have come to their coasts, and for the great charity of these kingdoms in the many alms which so many persons, zealous for the good of these poor people, have bestowed upon us. And all this and the much that we hope for through the influence of your Highness we recognize as coming from heaven through the intercession of most holy Mary, in whose hands, since the beginning, we have placed the undertaking, in order that to this great Lady the glory may be due. May the same Lady obtain from God great and prudent decisions in the most righteous government of your Highness, that by means of your lofty judgment and sovereign influence our Catholic monarchy may be extended, and that he may guard the Catholic and royal person of your Highness the many years that Christendom requires. Guadalajara, February 10, 1702.

"FRANCISCO MARIA PICOLO, of the Company of Jesus."

"My due thankfulness wished to show itself appreciative in this report by making note of the benefactors who have aided in this new conversion and conquest of

^{37a} See *ante*, page 44.

the Californias, in the first place, to give some sign of the gratitude of these new missions, and in the second, because they so requested of me from Madrid, in order that his Majesty might know the names of the benefactors, whom, even before knowing them individually, he ordered me to thank in his royal name for the pious liberality with which they had comported themselves in an enterprise so much for the service of God and of the king our Lord, in the reduction of innumerable souls that shall be added to the church, as I hope, under the protection of the great conqueror, Mary most holy, and as the extension of this new kingdom of California promises. But the benefactors, in their pious modesty, having asked me to publish neither their names nor the alms which they have given for this cause of Jesus Christ, I find myself obliged to mortify my desires, and I do it with all submission, that the names of the benefactors, so great and noble, may remain printed and graven by the hand of the great lady, Mary most holy, in the Book of Life.³⁸

CHAPTER VIII. THE ABOVE ROYAL *CÉDULA* AND THE REPORT OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA FURNISH A MOTIVE FOR MAKING A REPORT IN THIS TREATISE UPON THE STATE OF THESE NEW CONVERSIONS OF THIS NUEVA VISCAYA, FOR THE FOLLOWING REASONS

I. Some time ago various distinguished persons said that these two spiritual conquests and new conversions of California and the two Christian communities of Pimeria and Nueva Viscaya must be sisters.

II. The royal *cédula* greatly favors both of them, with the same very Catholic and most Christian affection. May his divine Majesty reward him with the

³⁸ This paragraph is omitted from the *Memorial*.

most fortunate and most glorious successes in this American orb, in the European, and in the blessed eternity of the heavens.

III. Our father general, Tyrso Gonsales, in a letter from Rome dated December 24, 1701, in answer to some letters and reports which, at the express request of his Reverence, I had sent him by the father procurators, Bernardo Rolandegui and Nicolas de Vera,³⁹ writes me the following:

Of great comfort to me has been your Reverence's letter of January 25, 1700, accompanied by the relation or treatise on the celestial favors experienced in the new conversions, and it has been a very pleasant occupation to me to give thanks to God that he should make use of his ministers for his greater glory and the advancement of our true religion. To reward your Reverence for your zeal and most glorious travails, God hath prepared eternal rest in His glory. Therefore, I shall not attempt to reward you, but shall only express my utmost gratitude to your Reverence, exhorting you with paternal affection to continue in an undertaking so great and so characteristic of our profession, etc.

P.S. As soon as Father Rolandegui delivered me the relation which your Reverence sent, I read it all, without omitting a word. And I affectionately charge your Reverence that as soon as possible you write the second part, as you promise, giving me in great detail an account of the new missions which are being opened and of the progress being made by those that are already opened.

Thus far our father general.

IV. The father provincial, Francisco de Arteaga, in the letter which he sent me from this new rectorate of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores with the report on California, which with so great courtesy he was pleased to send me, likewise appears to ask me the same, that is, a similar report on these new conversions of this Pimeria.

³⁹ Part I of this work was sent by these men. See volume i, 275.

V. Very expressly it is requested of me by some persons favorable to new missions, and especially by my neighbor, Father Agustin de Campos, who for ten years has gloriously toiled in the neighboring mission of San Ignacio; for when I sent his Reverence the report on these new conversions and California, in a letter he wrote me that it was expedient that a report be made of these new conversions also, since they are in a country nearer and richer, etc. And when I suggested that his Reverence make this report, he in another letter answered me as follows:

I have not made nor am I making a report. It is your Reverence's duty.⁴⁰ If it were mine I should make two; one to the father provincial, to the effect that his Majesty has three missions paid for, Tubutama, La Consepision del Caborca, and San Francisco Xavier del Bac, but that they have been many years without a minister, as a result of which very many souls are lost beyond recall; that he should send ministers with the understanding that they come to work, etc. The other report should be for the Señor viceroy. It should be succinct and simple, commencing with your Reverence's mission as the oldest, etc., and going as far as the last stations of the Sovaipuris. And, your Reverence, say as much as you wish, for they are most suitable for founding missions; and finally, petition, petition again, clamor, clamor again, to the Señor viceroy, that he report with a paper printed in his name, for I judge this to be expedient and necessary. And do not fear any opposition from me in the matter, your Reverence, for you will not have it; on the contrary, you will have hearty endorsement of your petition. May God keep your Reverence.

Thus far Father Agustin de Campos.

⁴⁰ This statement indicates the primacy accorded Kino in his district.

CHAPTER IX.^{40a} DIFFERENT ONES OF US MAKE
DIVERS REPORTS THROUGH VARIOUS CHANNELS.
NEVERTHELESS, THE PURPOSE IS NOT ATTAINED,
BECAUSE THE TIME IS NOT YET RIPE AND BE-
CAUSE OF FALSE REPORTS OF THOSE LITTLE
INCLINED OR HOSTILE TO THE COMING OF
THE FATHERS

Upon the receipt of these favorable opinions of so many persons, not only I, but also various other individuals, made various reports and maps of these new lands, in order that fathers might come to these harvests of souls, so plentiful and so ripe. I sent a report and a map⁴¹ through the father visitor. In regard to the map his Reverence writes me the following letter:

May our Lord recompense your Reverence for your work and care with the map, for which I heartily thank you. It is very fine, since it shows the old and the new missions of this *visita* and of California, and it comes in good time to be sent to the father provincial. If your Reverence writes to him you will please say to him that I have given your Reverence his message, greeting you and thanking you for your holy zeal and work, etc. I beg you Reverence to do me the favor of thanking those Pima children for the greetings which they send me, returning them in my name with great affection, telling them that I will repay them by offering three masses to the most holy Trinity and one to our Lady, for their spiritual good.

Thus the father provincial wrote me, and at almost the same time Captain Antonio Bezerra, who was going to Mexico to secure the captaincy of the presidio of Janos, wrote me as follows:

I have received the packets and messages for the fathers of Mexico, and shall try to deliver them into their own hands; and I shall consult concerning the fathers whom this Pimeria needs, in order that in everything the service of God may be

^{40a} From here to the end of the book the chapters were wrongly numbered, viii being here repeated. The numbering has been corrected by the editor.

⁴¹ I have never seen this report nor mention of it other than this.

done, and that your Reverence may obtain such apostolic desires. And in order that I may bring it about and have good fortune on my journey, I pray your Reverence to commend me to God in your holy sacrifices.

General Juan Fernandes de la Fuente, who surrendered and resigned the presidio of Janos to Captain Antonio Bezerra, wrote me in these words:

I greatly rejoice in your Reverence's good health and in all your happy progress, your discovery that this is terra firma with California, and your having the Pima children so advanced toward receiving holy baptism. May his divine Majesty will that we may see fulfilled the Christian and zealous desires of your Reverence, to whom I wish to express my appreciation of the greetings which you were pleased to give me on behalf of all the Pima governors and children. I commend myself to them with all my heart, and beseech your Reverence to give them for me my loving greetings, and to say that I rejoice in their good friendship and in their desire to receive fathers, and that in that connection I shall do everything in my power that it may be brought about, as well as to aid the new churches of that new Christian community. And I rejoice that his Majesty gives attention with his most Christian Catholic zeal to a matter of so great consequence and service to the two Majesties. The letters which your Reverence entrusts to me shall go to Mexico with my compadre ^{41a} Antonio Bezerra, who will deliver them into the very hands of their owners, and everything shall be done as your Reverence designs.

Thus far General Juan Fernandes de la Fuente.

CHAPTER X. SOME REASONS WHY THE COMING OF THE DESIRED AND NECESSARY FATHERS FOR THESE NEW CONVERSIONS IS NOT YET BROUGHT ABOUT

Notwithstanding the fact that by so many means and through so many reports and letters efforts were made that these new missions might secure the necessary fathers, as there were also opposing reports of those ill-

^{41a} If A is father and B godfather of a child, A and B are compadres.

disposed, at this time the purpose was not yet accomplished, and there were various opinions and consultations in regard to the hindrances to the coming of these fathers.

I. Some said that they were hindered, indeed, by all these, the envy, the emulation, and the chimeras which the common enemy raised up and thrust in so as not to lose dominion over so many souls which for so many years he had held and still holds in slavery.

II. Others said that it was the obstinacy of those who for so many years have written ill of this Pimeria, for in order not to be discredited they tried to maintain their point that this Pimeria did not deserve or need these fathers.

III. Others said that it was feared that these new missions would become burdensome to the old missions, and that we should neglect the missions which we have on our hands and in our care.

IV. Others said that it would be difficult to aid and attend to California.

V. More truly others said that the appointed time had not yet come, nor the appointed fathers whom His divine Majesty had prepared for an undertaking so much His own, and that the things which were to be celestial favors were not to be human dispositions, and that that could not be accomplished by men or by human, earthly forces which was reserved for the great glory of the wonderful power and judgment of the Most High, *quoniam tu solus santus, tu solus altissimus*,⁴² who, by celestial favor, knoweth how to bring forth from contradiction and opposition the celestial favors of his blessed promotion of the greatest glory. And if one asks of Him (I say it from the gospel)

⁴² "Since Thou alone art holy, Thou alone most high." (From the "Gloria" of the Mass).

whether He or His father and mother by their sins caused the unhappy blindness, they will hear it from Him that neither He nor His father nor His mother caused that grievous blindness by their sins, but that all was in order that He might the more receive the great and wonderful mercy and the greater glory of God; *Sed ut manifestetur gloria Dei*⁴³ in His celestial favors. And, thank God, the principal thing is under way, and there are good and solid hopes of the conversion of all this unknown North America, in view of the good state of the more than thirty thousand souls reduced, and the fact that every year so many natives come here most amicably, even from very far away, to see us, to ask us for holy baptism, and to aid us in the building of new churches, as, for example, on the twentieth of March many Yumas, Quiquimas, and others came, travelling more than one hundred and seventy leagues.

CHAPTER XI. DIFFERENT PERSONS WHO IN THESE MONTHS WRITE IN FAVOR OF THESE NEW CONVERSIONS, WITH A REPORT FOR HIS ROYAL MAJESTY, GOD SAVE HIM

At this juncture, when the coming of the fathers was suspended for us, and when with great zeal and heavy expenditures, all of which were joyfully given, thank God, in the Pimeria, we were working at the building of the two new churches of Nuestra Señora de los [Remedios] and Santiago de Cocospora, four different persons, three of priestly tonsure, wrote me in these months the following letters, with a report for his royal Majesty, Philip V, God save him.

One person, very experienced and very zealous for the service of both majesties and for the welfare of

⁴³ "But to manifest the glory of God." Compare *John*, ix, 1-3.

souls, writes me as follows: "Let no one fear that there will be lack of men. Let us bring in Frenchmen" in great numbers for the new undertaking, to the end that the land may belong to God, who has peopled it with so many souls, etc." And for his Majesty he sent me a report which, reduced to a brief summary, is as follows:

SACRED ROYAL MAJESTY: The undertaking of these new spiritual and temporal conquests, without excessive expense to the royal estate, needs the royal protection of your Majesty. The Hydras frighten those who are not Hercules, like your Majesty, with the *plus ultra* of two worlds. To weak shoulders it will appear a chimerical idea to sustain two heavens; but your Majesty, Atlas of the Church Militant, shall find the weight to be most worthy of your royal shoulders. The part of the mainland of North America north of thirty degrees of north latitude asks the royal protection and overlordship of your royal Majesty, for, being your Majesty's, it will be the merciful God's.

The enterprise involves the reduction of the very extensive unknown North America, the peace of all the interior, the protection of the Californias, and the establishment of a resting place in the west for the sick on the voyage from Manila; and to the eastward the trade and commerce with New France, with well-founded hopes of innumerable treasures, for it lies in the latitude of Sonora and Pimeria, provinces where there are veins of silver. Your royal Majesty, Atlas of the two heavens, has the American India at your royal feet, asking the royal protection of your royal Majesty. And you will greatly please God by deigning to command that there be established, not a presidio, but a villa, on the large volumed, very populous, and very fertile Colorado River, which, in a short time, with the mines and the fertile lands, and the commerce with China, will be fit to be the capital villa of a viceroyalty.

Your royal Majesty bears only one charge in Sonora; and in the Pimeria there are many horses and cattle to forward the undertaking. Moreover, the river, like others near by, is

⁴⁴ At this time the relations of the French and Spanish courts were very close, otherwise this would sound strange.

peopled with industrious and friendly Indians. Already the Pimeria, new conquest of the Company of Jesus, as a result of the apostolic toils of the apostolic hero, Eusevio Francisco Kino, is seen to be the road to the new villa; and the said Pimeria, promoted by zealous workers, will be the storehouse and nursery of the new settlement, until all kinds of cattle, etc., shall be raised. The great intellect of your royal Majesty will be able to comprehend the other profitable things, both spiritual and temporal, which may be secured from such an undertaking. This I suggest to the Catholic piety of your royal and very Catholic Majesty. May the divine one prosper you as the Atlas of his Church. Today, January 21, 1703, in the province of Sonora. Your serene royal Majesty's humble chaplain and most insignificant vassal.

N. C.⁴⁵

Thus far the person very experienced, capable, religious, and zealous for the service of both Majesties.

CHAPTER XII. OTHER LETTERS FROM VARIOUS PERSONS WHO IN THESE TIMES OF CONTROVERSY, OPPOSITION, AND DELAYS OF THESE NEW CONVERSIONS, SPEAK MUCH GOOD OF THEM

The actual father provost of the Casa Profesa⁴⁶ of Mexico, who had been provincial of all the province of New Spain, on the fifteenth of April of this year 1703, wrote me the following:

I have greatly rejoiced over the discovery of the passage to California. The father provincial, Ambrocio Oddon, as soon as he entered sent eight fathers; I do not know whether some will fall to your Reverence or not.⁴⁷ I should rejoice to be one of them and to be at the service of your Reverence, employing the few remaining days of my life in ministering to those poor dear creatures, in order to be able in some degree to satisfy the divine Majesty. May He keep your Reverence for me, etc.

On the twenty-first of August the lieutenant of this

⁴⁵ The identity of the author of this letter is uncertain. N. C. may possibly be a misreading for A. C. — Agustín Campos.

⁴⁶ The Casa Profesa still stands in the heart of Mexico City.

⁴⁷ Four were destined to Pimeria Alta. See Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, 136.

presidio, Captain Don Gregorio Tuñon y Quiros,⁴⁸ on his return from Cinaloa, wrote me the following words:

Do not be greatly concerned, your Reverence, at the report that the Pimas have murdered Father Xavier de Mora, for clearly manifest is the truth of the contrary; and as to the great chimera, when I was in Cinaloa, and at the Real de los Frailes, when occasions offered themselves I opened the eyes of different persons to the truth regarding the peaceful state of the Pimeria; therefore, better times are coming.

Thus far Captain Don Gregorio. Brother Juan de Estaineser, who a short time before had come from Mexico to the missions, on August 24 writes me from Cinaloa as follows:

I was very sorry when I learned that the fathers had not arrived there, whom I suppose your Reverence, so anxious to minister to so many souls as are found about you, was awaiting. O that I were able to send several good men, who would put this work, so very precious in the eyes of God, before all convenience, and even before their own health, etc.

Thus far Brother Juan. From his holy convent of La Merzed, Redemption of Captives,⁴⁹ in Teocaltiche, the very reverend father prefect, Fray Francisco Lopes de Soto Mayor, because of the news of these new conversions of this Pimeria taken to his Reverence by Fray Francisco Belmar, who the past year and also fifteen years before, when I entered to begin these new conversions, had come zealously with me, and was present at many of the first baptisms, on September 22 of this year 1703, wrote me the following very religious and holy letter:

At the same time with the news given into our hands by

⁴⁸ His name is given in Bancroft as Gregorio Álvarez Tuñon. He succeeded Fuensaldaña as commander of the *Compañía Volante* of Sonora, and is said to have been objectionable to the missionaries, but this passage does not indicate it (see Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i, 503).

⁴⁹ Redension de Cautivos.

Fray Francisco Ruis de Belmar, who in 1686⁵⁰ entered with your Reverence to the first baptisms of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, your Reverence's most pleasing and amiable letter was read in the presence of the Señor alcalde mayor of this pueblo and of the Señor curate, and they were astonished at the expeditions which your Reverence has made into so many parts, through so many heathen communities and nations, and at your having added to our holy faith so many souls and to our friendship more than twenty-five thousand, mostly industrious Indians. For this we give thanks to our Lord. The other day I said the *Missa Cantada* in thanksgiving, praying his divine Majesty to give your Reverence aid and strength for a work of so great service to God our Lord. We have attributed it all to your Reverence's steps in imitation of the Apostle of the Indies, San Francisco Xavier. My principal vow is that, God willing, sometime during the month of next September I must go to Mexico to speak with the father visitor, who, they say, is coming in the supply ships which are at the Island of Martinique. His name is Father Manuel Pineiro;⁵¹ he is of the province of Aragon, etc.

Thus far the reverend fray prefect.

CHAPTER XIII. LETTERS WITH SOME NEWS OF THE NEW CONVERSIONS OF GREAT CHINA, WHICH HAVE COME TO MY HANDS DURING THESE MONTHS

I have always had an especially strong leaning toward the conversions of Great China, and at the suggestion of the superiors I applied myself to the mathematical sciences, which are very general there, and in

⁵⁰ 1687.

⁵¹ Father Francisco Arteaga was succeeded temporarily by Father Ambrosio Oddon, awaiting the arrival of Manuel Pineiro. Originally from the province of Aragón, where he presided over the colleges of Mayorca, Barcelona, and Zaragoza, and was procurator to Rome and provincial, Pineiro was sent to be provincial of Toledo. A few months later he was appointed visitor and vice provincial of New Spain, where he died in less than a year. He was succeeded by Father Juan María Salvatierra, of California (Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, 140. See *post*, page 108).

the beginning I asked to go to the missions there, because in that great vineyard of the Lord had lived and worked my kinsman, Father Martin Martini, who wrote those celebrated volumes and geographical maps of the great empire and monarchy of Great China.⁵²

In these months, when we were building the two new churches of this Pimeria, the father rector, Adamo Gilg, sent me the following letter from Father Pedro Van Hamme,⁵³ missionary of Great China, who at first however, a few years ago, was a missionary of Tarau-mares and of this Nueva Viscaya, of this New Spain or North America. He writes then to Father Guilielmo y Cinzer, missionary of Chinipas, on December 17, 1700, as follows:

I beg your Reverence to greet in my name all the fathers whom I know, and to communicate my letter to as many as possible. I am here in this province of Haquam.⁵⁴ The emperor of China has continued, according to his custom, to show respect to our fathers. Last year he came to Nanquin with a great following, and some fathers of the Company and all the missionaries who went to see him there and in other places he admitted to his presence, giving them all some silver. At the same time there went to the court five French fathers, one brother coadjutor, and a secular painter, all Frenchmen lately arrived there separately; and more lawsuits are feared because of a suspension *ab administracione Sacramentorum*.⁵⁵

A few days ago I returned to my house from a mission which

⁵² One of Father Martini's geographical works was: Martini (Martinus), *Novus Atlas Sinensis (Beyfugung vom Catayo [by J. Golins]. Historia von dem Tartarischen Krieg, etc. [with colored maps], (Amsterdam, 1655. J. Blaeu)*. Another was: *Description Geographique de la Chine, traduite d'un auteur Chinois par la Père Martini* (1663), fol. Concerning Father Martin Martini see Stöcklein, *Der neue Welt-Bott*, vol. i, p. iii, 114. He returned from Europe to China in 1658, after having come as procurator of the Chinese Missions.

⁵³ For a letter by Father Van Hame, Peking, August 28, 1721, see Stöcklein, *Der neue Welt-Bott*, Theil viii, 20, num. 197.

⁵⁴ Hong Kong.

⁵⁵ "From the administration of the Sacraments."

I had established as far as seventy leagues from this my residence. In it I spent fifty-four days, sometimes hearing confessions till after midnight. Through lack of missionary fathers in China, some of the missions are more than eighty and one hundred leagues from this residence. There are only two German fathers. One is named Father Kiliano Stimpf;⁵⁶ he is in Peki.⁵⁷ A glass kiln has been made, and he makes glass for the emperor. The other is named Father Gaspar Castner;⁵⁸ he is in the province of Canton. Of his Reverence the father visitor writes me the following: "Father Castner was three months alone in the island on which died San Francisco Xavier, building a fine sepulcher to San Xavier, costing about one hundred and fifty Roman crowns, or about one hundred and seventy Patacon crowns, or *patacones*. He travelled all over the island and baptized many persons with singular successes, which merit a long account. Thus the new mission of San Francisco Xavier is already very well advanced and extended. The inhabitants of the island are barbarians, and formerly they were nearly all robbers, but now they have acquired a great veneration for the saint and for Father Castner himself, whom they carried through all their villages, with a great celebration and banquets and presents. Let thanks be given to God." This the father rector wrote in the last letter of this year, and in the Castilian language, for he is Milanese. I have no doubt the devotees of San Xavier will rejoice at this news.

Thus far Father Van Hame, from the metropolis of the province of Haquan⁵⁹ in Great China.

⁵⁶ Father Kilian Stumpf, visitor in China and a prominent mathematician. He died on July 24, 1720. See Stöcklein, *Der neue Welt-Bott*, Theil viii, 18, 21.

⁵⁷ Peking.

⁵⁸ For information regarding Father Caspar Castner, see Stöcklein, *Der neue Welt-Bott*, Theil iv, 9.

⁵⁹ Hong Kong.

CHAPTER XIV. OF THE LAST MONTHS OF THE
YEAR 1703, AND OF THE BUILDING OF THE TWO
NEW CHURCHES, THEIR EXPENSE, COST,
AND VALUE

In the preceding chapter Father Van Hame and the father visitor note that in the island of Canton there was built for San Xavier a fine sepulcher costing one hundred and fifty *patacones* or *pesos*. Now, of the two new churches which were built this year and during some months of last year, each has a transept and two capacious chapels. Each has a chapel of the most glorious apostle of the Indies, San Francisco Xavier, and each chapel would have cost more than five hundred *pesos*, or *patacos*; and the two churches would have cost about ten thousand *pesos* were it not for the fact that, thank the Lord and his celestial favors, through the fertility of the land of these new conversions, without the districts being pledged to a hundred *pesos*, the expenditures were reduced to five hundred beeves for consumption during the construction of these two buildings, five hundred *fanegas* of maize, and about three thousand *pesos* in clothing, which is the money used and current among the natives of these new conversions. These goods are acquired in the many places where there are traders, all over the province of Sonora, not to mention the many mining camps old and new, which there are in all these missions, old and new, in exchange for provisions, flour, maize, meat, lard, tallow, candles, etc., which the districts produce, as well as for the silver which some, or most, give for the said provisions. The timbers for the frames and flooring, which are very good and almost all of pine called royal, were cut and brought from the neighboring hills, at a distance of seven or eight leagues.

CHAPTER XV. OF THE DEDICATION OF THE TWO
NEW CHURCHES OF THIS PIMERIA ⁶⁰

Ten years ago the first church of this Pimeria, which was that of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, was finished, and at the end of this year 1703, when my accustomed expeditions were hindered, we managed to dedicate the other two which we built, Nuestra Señora de los Remedios and Nuestra Señora del Pilar y Santiago de Cocospora; and although extraordinary occupations, contradiction, opposition, and a very needless suit ⁶¹ which was brought or attempted against us caused us to delay the two dedications of the new churches till after Christmas, the plans and the invitation to the dedications were for the day of San Xavier, December 3, the time of the dedication of the other. We accordingly invited various persons. The father visitor, Antonio Leal, in two letters dated November 19 and 20, wrote me the following:

Your Reverence's celebration shall be whenever you please. I greatly rejoice at the many people which you have, and I charge and beseech you to return to those poor children my greetings, etc.

In the next letter, of the twenty-second, his Reverence writes to me thus:

Your Reverence has chosen a very suitable day for the dedication of your churches. Your labor has been very great, and our Lord will repay you for it. Over here there is nothing new, except that it is said that the supply ships arrived last month; therefore the new government must have come. Nevertheless, I wrote yesterday to the father provincial, telling him of the state of the Pimeria, in order that his Reverence may dispose what I do not wish to finish, as I have scruples in case the

⁶⁰ Ortega gives a few lines to these dedications (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 312-313).

⁶¹ Discussed at some length by Ortega, 313.

fathers procurators from Rome have come.⁶² Perhaps he will send fathers from Europe.

Thus far the letters of the father visitor. Many other fathers and secular persons and the Señor alcalde, Juan Matheo Manje, and his predecessor, the Señor General Don Ycidro Ruis de Abechuco, and others, wrote almost the same as that which Captain Manuel de Almeida says in the following letter, giving thanks to our Lord that with new people in so short a time two such good churches should have been built.

I have received your Reverence's most amiable letter with greatest pleasure and most repeated thanks, and with prayers to God that you may live very many years in good health, and that he may give you life to build twenty temples, and that your Reverence may enjoy many years, etc.

CHAPTER XVI. OTHER PERSONS WHO DESIRE TO COME TO THESE DEDICATIONS, AND REGRETS THAT SOME FATHERS DO NOT COME TO THIS PIMERIA

General Juan Fernandes de la Fuente on November 10 wrote from the presidio of Janos the following:

I wish to assure your Reverence that I rejoice that our reverend father provincial is heeding my supplication and that of Captain Bezerra, and that his Reverence is sending some reverend fathers for the missions of this extensive Pimeria, whose reduction to our holy faith has cost so much labor, vigilance, and solicitude, the fact being that all this has borne fruit and has procured the propagation of the gospel, although there is no lack of opponents to an undertaking of so great importance to the service of the two Majesties. I regret that the laborers who have arrived in this province have been assigned to other missions and have not gone to that Pimeria, where they were so greatly needed.⁶³ May it be the divine Majesty's

⁶² He means that he does not wish to undertake any new business so near the end of his term.

⁶³ See *ante*, page 38.

will that in all and through all your Reverence may witness the accomplishment of your desires and the success of your great labor, for I, as one so much interested and a friend of your Reverence, desire more than anyone else to see those extensive nations full of laborers, as the poor creatures desire, coming from places so far away to ask for holy baptism. And I rejoice that our ancient Pimeria is so quiet and obedient to the ministers of his Majesty, ecclesiastical as well as secular, which is as much as I desire. And I thank them, as is due. Therefore, on my behalf, your Reverence, I beseech you once and again to give my loving greetings to the children and to those who lovingly give them to me, and to say that I rejoice that they maintain themselves in all peace. Also, I have received great pleasure in the news which your Reverence was pleased to give me of the good condition of your Reverence's church of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, which, I have no doubt, since it has been the work of your Reverence's hand, must be one of the best of the province; also that of Cocospera. And if they have not been opened before I return from Cinaloa, I accept forthwith the invitation which your Reverence is pleased to extend to me, for, since I have a hand in that of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, I wish to have the pleasure of being at the dedications, and to serve your Reverence in so far as I can, and with the will and obligation which I owe, etc.

Thus far General Juan Fernandes de la Fuente. And Captain Antonio Becerra on November 30 writes as follows:

I am now very much pleased that your Reverence's first toils are being rewarded, and I give you hearty congratulations on the particular work which at the cost of your vigilance has been accomplished in the two churches. I shall be very glad if my cares and duties give me leisure to serve your Reverence in some way, etc.

Many others wrote other affectionate letters regarding the dedications, as well as regarding the coming of the father laborers.

CHAPTER XVII. OF THE COMING OF FATHER GERONIMO MINUTILI TO THIS PIMERIA

When all the good people and those favorable to new conversions were greatly regretting that father laborers did not come and enter into these new conversions whose harvests of souls are so extensive and so ripe, and when man born of woman had no reason to think that a new and unlooked for and unhopd for father laborer should come hither to the interior, Father Geronimo Minutili came to this Pimeria, this month of December, of his own accord, or to speak more truly, by disposition and control of the celestial favors of our Father, of which I am writing. He came from the conversions of the Californias, because it seemed to his Reverence that they were not expanding as much as his fervent spirit desired, while it seemed to him that over here in this Pimeria and in the other surrounding new nations there was a more extensive field, with more souls reduced and to be reduced,⁶⁴ in all directions, north, west, northeast, and northwest, to where one may pass by land to California itself, in the latitude of thirty-two degrees.

The father landed then, in Cinaloa, and came thence to Sonora to talk over things with the father visitor, Antonio Leal. His intention, according to the messages which his Reverence sent by my steward to me while on the way, was to come at once to this Pimeria from Sonora. We exchanged letters, and he went on to celebrate Christmas with Father Adamo Gilg, among the Mountain Seris of Santa Maria del Populo. Afterwards he came into Pimeria and to Nuestra Senora de los Dolores; and I went to meet him at the pueblo of

⁶⁴ It is also stated that he came for his health. Minutili's coming is mentioned by Ortega in *Apostólicos Afanes*.

Opodepe. Throughout the journey from Cinaloa to Sonora, and even to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, his Reverence encountered great opposition and many obstacles. But his Reverence, since he was sent and came more by divine than human disposition, was always very constant, not fearing any of the thousand difficulties and obstacles, which by so many routes and so repeatedly, and by plots so persistent, were placed in his way for almost an entire year.

BOOK III. FIRST MONTHS OF THE YEAR
1704; DEDICATIONS OF TWO NEW CHURCH-
ES; EXPEDITION OR PEREGRINATION
TO LOS GUAIMAS, ONE HUNDRED
LEAGUES TO THE SOUTH

CHAPTER I. OF THE MONTH OF JANUARY, 1704, IN
WHICH OCCURRED THE SOLEMN DEDICATION
OF TWO NEW AND CAPACIOUS CHURCHES

The churches of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios and Nuestra Señora del Pilar y Santiago de Cocospera, as all who have seen them say, are among the best in all the provinces of Sonora, Sinaloa, Hiaqui, and Chini-pas. They both have transepts, formed by two good chapels, with their arches. One of the two chapels of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios is dedicated to our father San Ygnacio and the other to the glorious Apostle of the Indies, San Francisco Xavier; and of the two chapels of Cocospera one is dedicated to Nuestra Señora de Loreto, and the other to San Francisco Xavier. Each church has on the arches of the two chapels which form the transept a high cupola, and each cupola has in the middle and above a sightly lantern.

On January 15 and 16 the church of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios was solemnly dedicated; and on the seventeenth we went on to the dedication of the church of Cocospera, which we held on the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth of January. The two dedications were performed by Father Rector Adamo Gilg and other fathers, with all the ceremonies and benedictions which our Holy Mother Church commands, according

to the holy Roman ritual. His Reverence chanted the two principal solemn masses, aided by the good choir of singers of the first church of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios; and the father rector, Adamo Gilg, preached very well in the Pima language, in the dedication of each of the churches. Both dedications were celebrated with the especial pleasure of all those who took part in them.

CHAPTER II. OF THE NATIVES AND OUTSIDERS WHO TOOK PART IN THESE DEDICATIONS

I having invited some fathers and other Spaniards, and some natives from the interior, although the weather was somewhat inclement and cold, and although there were some cases of illness which prevented the coming of some of the fathers, yet many natives from the interior, from the north, the west, and especially the northwest, were present at the two dedications, greatly to our pleasure. Many of them came more than one hundred leagues, as did the captain of the Yumas, with many of his people, and with some gifts of shells from the head of the Sea of California, and with very good messages from the very friendly people, and from the nations of the Quiquimas, Cutganes, and Coanopas, etc., nations on the land route to California. They sent their blue shells from the opposite coast and from the Sea of the South, where every year the China ship, or Manila galleon, is accustomed to come, and summoned me and other fathers to go to see them and to treat of their baptism and of their reduction of our holy Catholic faith.

And the blue shells from the opposite coast were a new argument for the passage by land to California, which was at thirty-two degrees of latitude, in spite of the contradiction of obstinate persons little inclined to

these new conversions. For it was contended that these natives were unable to cross a great arm of the sea which the opponents placed there instead of the land, over which they bring us the shells which are produced only on the opposite coast of California. There, clearly, we have the land route to California. So sure were we of the singular celestial favors which we experienced in the two dedications of these two new churches, that with great satisfaction to ourselves and to all the amiable guests the three following admirable sacred texts were confirmed: *Dicite in gentibus quia Dominus regnavit etenim correxit orbem terræ*⁶⁵ (*Psalm xcv*), for many with great error delineated California as an island, though incorrectly, and drew a Sea of California where there is none, for it comes up no higher than to thirty-two and a half degrees. (II) *Terra aparuit arida et in Mari Rubro*.⁶⁶ Many call the Sea of California the Red Sea. *Via sine impedimento*,⁶⁷ as chants our holy mother Church on the eighth of August and the day of the saints who have for their gospel (III) *Euntes in mundum unibersum. Predicate Evangelium omni creaturæ*, etc.⁶⁸

CHAPTER III. ENTRY OF FATHER GERONIMO MINUTILI TO HIS NEW MISSION AND DISTRICT OF SAN PEDRO Y SAN PABLO DEL TUBUTAMA

As soon as the father rector, Adamo Gilg, Father Geronimo and Brother Juan Estaineser, and I, with many of the outsiders from parts so remote, had held the two dedications of the new churches, we took up the

⁶⁵ "Say ye among the Gentiles that the Lord hath reigned, for he hath corrected the world" (*Psalm xcv*, 10).

⁶⁶ "Dry land appeared even in the Red Sea" (*Wisdom*, xix, 7).

⁶⁷ "A way without hindrance" (*Wisdom*, xix, 7).

⁶⁸ "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel unto every creature" (*Mark*, xvi, 15).

matter of placing Father Geronimo in his new mission of San Pedro y San Pablo del Tubutama. He went for this purpose to San Ygnacio and I came with the father rector to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. The common enemy tried as always to place new obstacles in the way of this entry of Father Geronimo to his new district of El Tubutama, which is twenty-five leagues distant from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores toward the west. In the preceding weeks I had ordered the house repaired and a good field of wheat sown and a good garden leveled off and planted with various small trees of Castile, grape vines, peaches, pomegranates, fig trees, pear trees, and all kinds of garden produce.

Father Geronimo was very well received and was a great consolation to the many natives whom he found at El Tubutama, and his Reverence also was greatly pleased at seeing the people so affable, domestic, and docile, with their officers, servants, vestments with which to say mass, household furniture, sheep, and goats. The cattle and horses were still at San Ygnacio. We made plans for a good and spacious church and a house. I promised to build the church at my expense, and, leaving Father Geronimo in his new district I came by a different route, by way of El Saric, Busanic and Siboda, to Nuestra de los Dolores. And when I reported this our expedition to El Tubutama to Father Visitor Antonio Leal, his Reverence answered me with the following letter of February 13:

I thank you heartily, and God will recompense your Reverence for the work of going to El Tubutama with Father Geronimo, as well as for the news that the father is pleased with the neophytes and they with him, for great comfort your Reverence has given me thereby, and also by the charity which you show the father in the aid and in the expense of building the church, as you promised him. All this is sowing in good

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soil to reap a good harvest. The paymaster is trustworthy and powerful.

Thus far the father visitor.

CHAPTER IV. EXPEDITION PLANNED AGAINST THE ENEMY BUT WHICH, ON ACCOUNT OF THE DISCORD BETWEEN THE CAPTAINS, WAS NOT MADE

At this time, in the month of February, there were many enemies, and thefts of horses in various parts of the frontiers, and also in this Pimeria, at San Ygnacio, Cocospora, and Santa Maria Magdalena, where such enemies had never before entered. Reports were made from various places to the presidio, and from its lieutenant, Captain Don Gregorio Albares Tuñon y Quiros, the following letter, dated February 25, came to me:

I am informed that there have been signs that the enemy have entered, but they have not carried off horses. Nevertheless, last month I was reconnoitering toward the north and toward the south, where I took away from them some horses which they were running off from Nacosari; and considering that what has been done is not sufficient and that help is needed, I have written to the alcalde mayor of San Juan to send me citizens for the eleventh of March when I shall set out with thirty soldiers to seek their ranchería. And now has come the time to accept the promise which your Reverence and your neophytes have given me to aid in the punishment of these enemies. Therefore I beg your Reverence to say in my name to the governors and war captains that I salute them, that I expect for the tenth of said month forty chosen Pimas, that I assure them that, God willing, we shall punish the enemy, etc.; that for the defense of each one of them I will risk my life; and that they must not fail me.

Thus far Captain Don Gregorio. I advised the children, and the governors of Los Remedios and Cocospora went at once, with all punctuality, to the presidio: but as the twenty citizens who had been asked of the Señor

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alcalde mayor did not come, the expedition was not made, and our Pimas returned hither. And even worse were the many pleas and reports that all the year went even to the governor of Parral and to the viceroy. And for one reason or another the enemy committed the hostilities and damages which we shall see hereinafter, while I arranged for my journey to the Guaimas and their heathen neighbors.

CHAPTER V. LETTER OF THE FATHER RECTOR,
JUAN MARIA SALVATIERRA, IN REGARD TO A PERUVIAN SHIP WHICH ARRIVES IN CALIFORNIA, AND TO OTHER WRECKED VESSELS

At this time I received the following letter from Father Rector Juan Maria Salvatierra, dated January 20, 1704.

Heaven bless me, it has been months now since I have seen a letter from your Reverence, and since your Reverence has seen any from me. But several months ago I received a number from your Reverence, all together. But as they arrived late, I could not do anything in the matter of your desired expedition. In regard to it there is no recourse except to commend it to Our Lady, leader of our expedition made about three years ago concerning which I rejoice in memories so sweet, and my comfort is *et non est abbreviata manus Dei*.⁶⁹ It is now no time for reproach. I thank your Reverence for the gift of flour, and of that often sent, which in time of need *placet et plasebit* (pleases and will please). God will repay your Reverence therefor. The reason for my silence has been that a letter written to your Reverence was lost, and that afterwards we found ourselves here with a multitude of shipwrecked people from vessels which were fishing in these seas. All would have perished with all their pearls if they had not come here to the pearl of finest luster and flame. A little while ago the Peruvian frigate set sail, calked and repaired as well as possible, with forty mouths who

⁶⁹ *Et non est abbreviata manus Dei ut salvare nequeat*: "The hand of the Lord is not shortened that it cannot save" (*Isaias*, lix, 1).

ate us out of house and home. Long live Jesus, long live Mary! Here we are continuing with the ordinary travails of new missions, which your Reverence knows better than I. But the consolation is, *sed vivent et pauperes Evangelii Sancti*⁷⁰ and the number [of converts] is increasing and the faith being extended. Only I have not been good, and so, your Reverence, commend me in truth to God, and receive many and very affectionate greetings from all the fathers, for all are rejoiced at your Reverence's honors. With all this I must close, commending myself to your holy prayers and sacrifices. Loreto Concho, January 20, 1704. Your Reverence's servant in Christ,

JUAN MARIA DE SALVATIERRA.

CHAPTER VI. MY JOURNEY OR EXPEDITION OF ONE HUNDRED LEAGUES TO THE SOUTHWARD TO THE GUAIMAS AND THE NEIGH- BORING HEATHEN

After I had lived in California and had come from there sometimes to Hiaqui, having very friendly relations with the neighboring heathen Guaimas, I very much desired and solicited their conversion, because I considered it very advantageous to the conversion of California. And in fact, when I came fifteen years ago from Mexico to these new conversions, the plan was to begin them among the Guaimas. Afterward there was so great a field here that only three years ago the father visitor, Juan Maria de Salvatierra, went in his apostolic zeal to found that mission and new conversion of the Guaimas, most of whom spoke the Pima language. For some months Father Juan de Hugarte, who left the rectorate of Mexico to come to the more glorious and meritorious missions of California, has lived there by disposition of the father rector, Juan Maria Salvatierra. At that time there was found working apostolically among the Guaimas Father Francisco Maria Picolo,

⁷⁰ "But the poor of the Gospel shall live."

who after having been in Mexico and having printed the report of the good state of California, with the inserted royal, very Catholic, and most Christian *cédula* of his Majesty Philip V, God save him, which so greatly favors all the new conversions, returned to California and afterward came to that new conversion of San Joseph de los Guaimas. Already his Reverence and I had exchanged letters, saying that we should see each other, and how there was a short and direct road, although among heathen and still unexplored and untravelled. I tried to open up this new road, because the other, by way of the Yaqui River, over which a few weeks before I had sent fifteen loads of flour as an alms for California, ran more than sixty leagues out of the way.

On March 25, the third day after Easter, I set out in the afternoon from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores for San Joseph de los Guaimas, having performed in the morning thirteen solemn baptisms, some of the many Spaniards who had come here from the neighboring new mining camp of Nuestra Señora de la Soledad to keep holy week, to comply with their religious obligations, and to keep Easter, acting as godfathers. After eight days' journey, on April 2 I arrived, thank God, safely at San Joseph de los Guaimas.⁷¹

CHAPTER VII. MY ARRIVAL AT SAN JOSEPH DE LOS GUAYMAS; AND THE HEATHEN DISCOVERED ON THIS NEW AND DIRECT ROAD

By means of the good equipment and the favors shown me in their great charity by Father Rector Adamo Gil in Santa María del Populo and Father Juan de San

⁷¹ Kino's route is made plainer by Ortega (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 314), who tells us that he went by Opodepe, Nacameri, and Santa María del Populo, thus avoiding the roundabout way by the Yaqui.

Martin ⁷² in San Francisco and La Santissima Trinidad del Pitiquin, ⁷³ I went in the short space of eight days these one hundred leagues from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores to San Joseph de Guaymas, a harbor of the sea of California. In the last and somewhat less inhabited fifty leagues of this hitherto not very much traveled road, and particularly in the post or station which they called El Cerro Grande, I found among the very affable heathen three or four Christian Indians who from fear of punishment by stripes had taken refuge among these retreats, and I tried to get them to go back with me on my return to their pueblos of Christians. To all these heathen I preached the Christian faith, and found them very docile and affable, and that with the good shepherds of souls which they need, God willing, all with ease can be reduced to pueblos, with churches for their eternal salvation.

When, on April 2, I arrived, thank God, safely at San Joseph de Guaymas, I found that Father Francisco Maria Picolo had gone on business to the neighboring missions of the Rio de Yaqui. The children of San Joseph de Guaymas, who were more than five hundred in number, and some of whom spoke the Pima language and others the Seri, received me with all kindness. I wrote immediately of my arrival to Father Francisco Maria Picolo and to the other fathers of Hyaqui, all of whom asked me to go on to their missions, even to Torin. ⁷⁴ But the necessity of returning as soon as possible to this mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores prevented me from making that journey, and, consequently, Father Francisco Maria Picolo came to San

⁷² Father San Martín formerly had been sent to Guebavi. See volume i, 303.

⁷³ This is evidently Pitiqui or Pitic, the early name for Hermosillo.

⁷⁴ Torin is in the lower Yaqui Valley.

Joseph de los Guaymas, and I welcomed him with very great satisfaction on my part.⁷⁵

So much did he desire it, as I could see, and because of his self effacement, I catechized and baptized many of them, now native catechumens, for most of them spoke the Pima language and were Pimas like those of this extensive Pimeria which Father Rector Adamo Gil used to call the Pimeria Alta. With these ministries and with the inspection of the very pretty and suitable posts (one had the corral for the cattle, and I noted that from it they could be embarked alive to be taken over to the very nearby California), I was detained three days, with great consolation to myself at seeing so great an opportunity to obtain much glory for our Lord, the salvation of so many souls, and the advantage of splendid fishing-grounds, salt-beds, lands, gardens, cattle, sheep, goats, and a church and house which are being successfully built.

CHAPTER VIII. MY RETURN FROM SAN JOSEPH DE
GUAYMAS TO NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS DO-
LORES, WHENCE GIFTS ARE SENT BY THE
NEW ROAD FOR THE GUAYMAS AND
FOR CALIFORNIA

Having been with Father Francisco Maria Picolo four days, with very great pleasure to myself, and having conferred with regard to the succor which from these neighboring posts could easily be sent to the new missions of the neighboring California, and in regard to the mode of securing the necessary missionary fathers for fields so extensive and containing so many heathen souls of all this vast North America, of this mainland and of the neighboring California, Baja and Alta,

⁷⁵ The meaning is not clear at this point.

I took leave of his Reverence and of the fathers of Hyaqui, and of the very beloved children and natives of San Joseph de Guaymas, and turned back toward this mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. On the way I found very many other new heathen, who came out to see me from their more remote retreats. I preached to them the principal mysteries of our holy Catholic faith, and since all knew the Pima language, I encouraged them to assemble in suitable places, whither missionary fathers could come to them for their eternal salvation. And they promised me that when fathers should be given them they would assemble and would form good missions at the very good post of the old mining camp of San Marzial, or wherever the father might wish. I arrived at La Santisima Trinidad del Pitiquin, and at San Francisco, pueblos which Father Juan de San Martin was administering, where I received a thousand kindnesses from his Reverence, as also the two following days at Santa Maria de Populo from Father Rector Adamo Jil.

And with various letters which meanwhile had come from Mexico and from Europe, as I shall state in the following chapters, I went on to the Valley of Sonora, to Father Visitor Antonio Leal. Afterwards I arrived at Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, whence I sent various gifts by a Spaniard by this direct and short road to San Joseph de Guaymas. Among them was a canvas or painting, with a gilt frame, of the most glorious San Joseph, which, as Father Francisco Maria Picolo wrote me in his most courteous letter, was placed on the high altar of the new church of San Joseph de Guaimas. I sent also some trifles and letters for the fathers of California.

BOOK IV. NEW GOVERNMENT OF THE
PROVINCES AND OF THE MISSIONS, WITH
THE COMING FROM EUROPE TO THIS NEW
SPAIN OF A NEW FATHER VISITOR GEN-
ERAL AND VICE PROVINCIAL, MANUEL
PINEYRO; NEW ROYAL CÉDULA, WITH
THE NEW AID OF THIRTEEN THOU-
SAND PESOS FOR CALIFORNIA: SOME
VERY SINISTER OPPOSITION TO
THESE NEW CONVERSIONS; AND
THE GOING OF FATHER JUAN
MARIA DE SALVATIERRA FROM
CALIFORNIA TO MEXICO

CHAPTER I. FIRST LETTERS AND NEWS WHICH AR-
RIVED AT THIS NEW CONVERSION OF THE COMING
OF THE FATHER VISITOR, MANUEL PIN-
EYRO; AND A LETTER WHICH HIS
REVERENCE WROTE TO ME

On coming from San Joseph de Guaymas, on the way from Sonora as well as upon my arrival at this mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, I found various letters from Mexico and Rome. Among them were two most kind ones from our Father General Thyrsso Gonzalez, and one from the new father visitor general, Manuel Pineyro, in regard to these missions. The preceding father provincial, Francisco de Arteaga, had appointed and assigned me as rector of this rectorate of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores (for although I made a nomination for the charge they did not listen to me), and so his Reverence, in writing to me in regard to a

rector and to giving me a successor under a new government, charged me and wrote me in his own hand, among other kindnesses and other holy paternal matters, that I should name my successor, etc. And although I afterward made a nomination, this suggestion was not heeded nor my proposal accepted. But I continued to remain, and God willing, shall always remain more desirous and fond of living without such charges, and with the religious freedom to attend to the welfare of these innumerable, poor, and needy souls of this vast North America, and of advancing their salvation by all possible methods and means, by word, by writing, or otherwise, than of acting in the capacity of superior, or reporting about other persons and their work, when there is so much to do, and in a matter of so great scruple and care, and of having each year to give an account of their persons to our Lord. And said father visitor Manuel Pineyro assigned and appointed all the father rectors of missions as well as of all the colleges and all the provinces of New Spain.

CHAPTER II. NEW ROYAL *CÉDULA* OF PHILIP V, GOD SAVE HIM, IN REGARD TO THE AD- VANCEMENT OF CALIFORNIA

At the same time, in the months of April and May of 1704, different letters came to me, among them being one from Father Francisco Maria Picolo in regard to the very Catholic new royal *cédula* of his Majesty Philip V, God save him, which in the preceding months had arrived at Mexico. In it thirteen thousand *pesos* more were very charitably appropriated for thirty additional soldiers for California.^{75a} And Gen-

^{75a} In 1703 Fathers Rolandegui and Vera presented a memorial to the king regarding California. On June 16 it was considered in council, the king being present in person. As a result five decrees were issued on September

eral Juan Matheo Manje, who a little before had been alcalde mayor of all this province of Sonora, in the Real de San Juan, with very Catholic magnanimity offered himself as captain of the soldiers, and to aid with his very Christian zeal in the advancement of all the new conversions, those oversea in California, as well as those of the Pimas in this mainland, and of the land route to California, and of the large volumed and very populous Colorado River. But afterwards all these good intentions were in part frustrated, since on account of the heavy expenses of the many European wars the royal chests were unable to give the above mentioned thirteen thousand pesos which the royal *cédula* granted. Nevertheless, our Lord willed that the glorious and apostolic new conquest, new conversion, and new Christian community, which, through the indefatigable holy zeal and untiring blessed administration, care, and labor of those apostolic Californian missionary fathers has not lacked the necessary aid of the several very pious benefactors, should be very well supported. For when some have withdrawn their hands, the celestial divine providence has disposed that in others Christian piety and charity should not be lacking, as can be gathered from the following chapter.

CHAPTER III. THAT TEMPORAL AND SPIRITUAL GOODS ARE MULTIPLIED FOR THE BENEFAC- TORS OF THE NEW CONVERSIONS

The father rector, Melchor Bartiromo, benefactor of the new conquest and new conversions of California, recognizes clearly and distinctly and is accustomed to say that on one occasion when he had sent twenty loads

28, 1703. One of them added seven thousand *pesos* to the California subsidy of six thousand and ordered a vessel purchased (Chapman, *Founding of Spanish California*, 21).

of provisions to Hayaqui for California, as he had promised them, and, because the weather was somewhat severe it appeared that through the shipment some want of provisions might be occasioned in his districts, he saw those twenty loads plainly multiplied, and more besides, among his troops, without their experiencing the least poverty or lack of them in their houses.

The same has happened to me on several occasions, for I have aided new conversions, in California as well as over here in this mainland, and the holy Mother of the province, our Lady, with her most merciful and great providence, has multiplied and increased for me the temporal goods by the bountiful harvests of wheat, maize, cattle, wine for masses, cane, plums, gardens, etc., and even the heathen and the new nations, without my asking them anything or speaking a word to them in regard to the matter, have made for me good fields and good harvests of wheat, maize, beans, water-melons, melons, and pumpkins, and have given me cattle, sheep, and goats in abundance in various good districts of the interior, near and remote. And it is well verified that what we give to the poor in pious causes, that shall we have in this life and for all eternity, and that what we do not give that shall we lose. It is notorious, moreover, that in some cases those who have given little and even refused to aid the new conversions of California, either in part or altogether, have lost the plentiful harvests which they were accustomed to have. And one of the very Catholic kings of Spain and of the Indies, in one of his very Christian *cédulas*, commands, to this end, that the necessary expenditures be not spared, because as his royal Majesty says, he recognizes clearly that for what is spent for such purposes our

Lord always returns great increase to his royal crown.⁷⁶

Therefore, there has not failed, nor fails now, nor, God willing, shall fail what is necessary either for the new conversions of California or for the rest which they may wish to undertake for the service of his divine Majesty or for the welfare of the souls redeemed with the most precious blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. And thus the sovereign Lord aids us most liberally and very continually with many means, temporal and spiritual, in these new Pima conversions, as we very joyfully acknowledge. And yet, although I have reported the many missionary fathers whom we have needed and asked for, and whom the father provincials and generals promise to us, and have even sent several times and continue to send in goodly number, the contradiction and opposition here impedes, prevents, and detains them from us. But we confidently hope in the loving disposition of our Lord that in his time there will come in so much the greater numbers the zealous father laborers necessary, predestined for the entire conquest and conversion of all this unknown North America, which with so much peace, quiet, and constancy is asking the boon of its eternal salvation.

CHAPTER IV. OF SOME NEW AND CALUMNIOUS HOSTILITY AND OPPOSITION TO THE NEW CONVERSIONS

The common enemy of all good, and especially of the salvation of souls, by means of some persons unfavorable to these new conversions, who already on many other occasions had opposed them, although always very wrongly, to advance their own cause and that of

⁷⁶ The reference is to the *cédula* at the opening of this work, volume i, page 108.

the common enemy, bruited it about that the natives of this Pimeria were so evil natured that they were plotting to kill one of the missionary fathers. At the same time Captain Don Antonio Bezerra (with twenty soldiers of the presidio of Janos selected for incorporation with the fifty soldiers of this presidio of Sonora, whose captain, Don Jacinto de Fuen Saldaña, was very discreet), himself at once argued and maintained that it was one of the usual idle and calumnious speeches of those ill-disposed to this Pima nation. Nevertheless, extended investigations were made in regard to the matter, but no trace whatever was found of the least alteration or evil intention of any of these Pima natives, nor had it entered into the thoughts of any of them to wish to kill or injure their missionary fathers or the captain of the presidio, Don Jacinto de Fuen Saldaña, who because of his very Christian, Catholic, and charitable qualities, has always been greatly beloved by all the Pima nation, and has advanced and defended it in everything lawful. These Pimas, according to their obligation, have in turn always cherished, loved, esteemed, and venerated the said Captain Don Jacinto and his soldiers, and especially their father ministers who have come, and have solicited others whom they lack and need. And with these refutations, after satisfactorily clearing up the calumnious charges that these Pimas were altered when they were not so, but most quiet, peaceful, and affable, Captain Don Antonio Vezerra returned to his presidio of Janos with his twenty soldiers, and all good people were astounded at so many wiles used by the common enemy to destroy and hinder the welfare of souls.

CHAPTER V. ANOTHER VERY GRAVE CALUMNY
AGAINST THE GOVERNOR OF MY THIRD PUEBLO
OF NUESTRA SEÑORA DEL PILAR DE COCO-
SPERA AND AGAINST THE WELFARE
OF THESE NEW CONVERSIONS

Captain Christobal Granillo de Salazar, deputy al-
calde mayor at the Real de Bacanuchi, on September 13
of this year, 1704, wrote me the following, naming for
me the three disaffected pueblos whence issued these
calumnies and wherein he was not given entire credit:

Some gossip is current here, and I shall appreciate it if your
Reverence will tell me the truth of the matter, so that the
wicked enemy may not accomplish his purpose of disturbing
these new conversions. It is to the effect that the governor
of Cocospera said that with the staff of office he was not a
man, but that with weapons he was, and that he had with-
drawn to the mountains to assemble men to attack some place.⁷⁷

This calumny was noised about in such a manner that
in a letter of September 17 the father visitor, Antonio
Leal, wrote me the following:

Over here it is said that the governor of Cocospera has sent
your Reverence the staff of office, saying that he intended to
avenge the death of his kinsfolk, and that he had revolted with
all Cocospera. I beg your Reverence for information.

And I, knowing how foreign to all charity were all
these darnels, proceeded at once to summon the said
governor of Cocospera with his two sons, one, named
Matias, who is a fiscal, and the other, called Joseph,
who is steward of my supplies at Cocospera. As both
were good cowboys, all these preceding weeks they had
helped me to deliver two hundred cattle to Captain
Don Geronimo Colonmo.

On September 20 I went with the said governor of

⁷⁷ Ortega summarizes these points on pages 314-315 of the *Apostólicos Afanes*.

Cocospera and his two sons to the neighboring pueblo of Cucurpe that his calumniators might see him and be satisfied in the presence of many Spaniards; and we were on the point of going to Tuape to see the father rector and even to the Valley of Sonora to see the father visitor, that all might be satisfied that it had been a mere calumny which unjustly had been raised against the innocent governor of Cocospera, who has several good papers by the various alcalde mayors, as captain-general of these new conversions, and is called Francisco Pacheco, because of having been the godson of the Captain Francisco Pacheco Zevallos, and of having been his warm friend ever since he lived in heathendom. The Spaniards, however, prevented our going to Tuape and Sonora, and said that they would there satisfy the father rector and the father visitor and the alcalde mayor in regard to the innocence and loyalty of the governor of Cocospera.

The lieutenant of the Real de Bacanuchi wrote me the following:

I have always been confident that this about the governor of Cocospera is false, and that they are powder-flashes and whirlwinds of lies, whose source your Reverence knows. I never have given them credit; and I said so when, coming from Sonora, I met those who gave me these reports; for whenever they go forth I find nothing but confusion and calumny of these poor Pima friends.

Thus far the Señor lieutenant.

CHAPTER VI. NEW EVIDENCE OF THE LOYALTY OF
THE PIMAS AND THAT IT IS THE HOSTILE
APACHES WHO COMMIT THE RAVAGES
AGAINST THIS PROVINCE

The above mentioned Señor lieutenant of the Real de Bacanuchi, Christoval Granillo de Salazar, in a letter of the eighth of October, giving me an account in the presence of his only son, Antonio, writes the following:

The news current here in regard to the enemies who killed the soldiers and the sons of Mexico are that Don Gregorio,⁷⁸ the lieutenant of the presidio, set out with the soldiers, waited for them in the Sierra del Chiguicagui, came upon them, killed five Apache enemies, and took away seventy-six horses and the arms of the soldier who had died. I do not ask a reward from your Reverence for the news that they are Apaches, and not Pimas, as the disaffected are accustomed to calumniate, because I ought to give it, since now the erroneous impression under which up to the present many were laboring, and gossip which was beginning to be current, such as those little interested are always accustomed to utter, are being dissipated. And these⁷⁹ have been they who have committed the murders in Tuape and in other places, as is shown by their great daring when they met with the soldiers, for they fought as valorous men on a plain in open battle. The Apaches were sixteen and the soldiers eighteen. May our Lord always bring the truth to light.

Thus far the Señor lieutenant. Now, when almost at the same time our Pimas had also won their victories over the above mentioned Apache enemies, taking captive some non-combatants, etc., in a letter of October Father Rector Adamo Jil⁸⁰ writes me from Matape the following:

I greatly rejoice that so quickly and unexpectedly the imagined or feigned revolt has gone up in smoke; for, although I

⁷⁸ Gregorio Álvarez Tuñón.

⁷⁹ *I.e.*, the Apaches.

⁸⁰ Gilg.

did not know of this particular difficulty, I was, however, very sorry when I saw in writing that a great blow was feared in the Pimeria. Now, my Father Kino, good courage, for my great desire, intention, and design is, to go to San Jabier del Gran Bac of the Pimas, setting out shortly from Matape, (*Faxint, Superi ett Superiores*).⁸¹

And in another and earlier letter his Reverence says the following:

That the non-combatants whom the Pimas brought have not been by any means few, and that the victory has been notable. Blessed be God, who again has rescued the Pimas, proving that they are not such as they wish perforce to make them out.

Thus far the father rector of Matape, Adamo Jil. Captain Don Gregorio Alvarez Tuñon y Quiros, from the presidio of this province writes that never will there be a lack of false witnesses, but that we must take care that the truth be upheld.

CHAPTER VII. LETTERS OF FATHER FRANCISCO MARIA PICOLO AND FATHER ANTONIO CAPUZ ⁸² IN REGARD TO THE GOING OF THE FATHER RECTOR FRANCISCO MARIA PICOLO (I MEAN JUAN MARIA DE SALVATIERRA) FROM CALIFORNIA TO MEXICO

Father Francisco Maria Picolo from San Joseph de Guaymas on October 20 of this year 1704, wrote me the following long letter:

MY MOST BELOVED FATHER HEUSSEBIO FRANCISCO KINO. Father, this serves to inform your Reverence that Father Rector Juan Maria de Salvatierra, owing to pressure of time has gone via Matanchel for Mexico, without touching this coast, to his Reverence's great grief and mine; but this is the will of the Lord, who always provides what is best. His reverence wrote me commanding and asking me that notwithstanding all the

⁸¹ "May the gods and the superiors grant it."

⁸² Father Marcos Antonio Kapus. For a note concerning him see volume i, 126.

orders promulgated by the father visitor, Manuel Pineyro, for my return to California, I should remain at this new mission of San Joseph de Guaymas until the return of his Reverence from Mexico, and that he would bring persons suitable for this mission.⁸³ The letters of your Reverence were sent to Mexico by a messenger. The Alferez Juan Baupptista de Escalante set out from this port of California yesterday, the nineteenth instant. His Honor went, summoned by the father rector, Juan Maria de Salvatierra, as commander or captain of that presidio.⁸⁴ He could not make the suggestion by word of mouth to the Señor Don Juan Matheo Manje, therefore he made it in writing. In regard to the cattle which the very liberal charity of your Reverence has offered for a new mission, we shall not be able to make any arrangements until the return of Father Juan Maria. If he had not gone to Mexico his Reverence would have sent me the itinerary; but it was not the will of the Lord. Be assured, your Reverence, I have such confidence in the Lord that in the Pimeria and California, after the passing of the persecutions our advancement is going to be *Ad maiorem Dei Gloriam* (to the greater praise and glory of the Lord), in spite of some who are zealous for temporal goods, and for their own persons more than for the spiritual welfare of themselves and of these poor Indians.

Be not cast down, your Reverence, for God has chosen the apostles for Pimeria and for California. I remain, then, in this mission, with the same spiritual joy as if it were in my beloved California. May His Divine Majesty accept my submission to the will of my superiors. I wish your Reverence were here. Thanks be to the Lord, there is sufficient means of sustenance, proper and good, for a new mission. I wish that your Reverence could help me with a little flour. I desire to eat bread, I have an oven, and your Reverence's mules have returned with salt and fish. Look what increase Father Francisco Maria has.

⁸³ Salvatierra had now been appointed provincial.

⁸⁴ For former work by Escalante see references in the "Index." At the special request of Salvatierra, Escalante, then alferez of the presidio of Nacolari, in Sonora, went to succeed Estévan Lorenzo, a Portuguese, as captain of the presidio of Loreto. Venegas calls Escalante "a soldier of great valor and credit against the Apaches" (Venegas, *Noticia de la California*, vol. ii, 150).

The fault ⁸⁵ is yours, for your Reverence's great and excessive charity. I salute your steward of California, and I desire to see and know him. Diego Fernandez kisses the hands of your Reverence, for whom I desire much spiritual comfort and health, for the Glory of the Lord and the salvation of so many souls.

Thus far Father Maria Picolo. And Father Marcos Antonio Capuz from his mission of Aribachi ⁸⁶ writes me on October 29 the following:

Father Rector Juan Maria de Salbatierra embarked for Mantanchel at the beginning of the present month, in a diver's bark, and his Reverence did not come to Hyaqui, writing that it was necessary for him to be brief and make haste, on account of the importunities which lately had been made to him from Mexico that he make the voyage. Alferez Escalante, although he went at once to California in a launch, did not overtake his Reverence; and Father Juan de Ugarte has the cattle.

Thus far Father Marcos Antonio Capuz.

CHAPTER VIII. A LETTER FROM CAPTAIN JUAN BAUTISTA DE ESCALANTE FROM HIS NEW CAPTAINCY IN CALIFORNIA, DATED OCTOBER 22. ON THE SAME DAY FATHER VISITOR DON MANUEL PINEYRO DIED IN MEXICO

DEATH OF THE FATHER VISITOR, MANUEL PINEYRO. Having been soldier and alferez of this presidio of Sonora or Flying Company (as the Señor Viceroy Conde de Galbes founded and designated it in the year 1695), Captain Juan Baupptista de Escalante went, called by the father rector, Juan Maria de Salbatierra, to the captaincy of California, whence on October 23 he wrote me the following letter:

MY VERY REVEREND FATHER, ETC., I write to tell your Reverence of my arrival at this new kingdom of California,

⁸⁵ A playful remark. He means "the credit is yours."

⁸⁶ Arivechi (Aribachi) is on the Río de Sahuaripa, about thirty miles from its junction with the Río Yaqui.

where I find myself with much pleasure in the company of the reverend fathers Juan de Ugarte, Juan Manuel de Zafaldua,⁸⁷ and Pedro de Ugarte, who at present are engaged in this undertaking. May the Lord protect us and grant his blessing for the advancement of these poor souls who now are coming into the knowledge of our holy faith. I did not have the pleasure of seeing our very reverend Father Rector Juan Maria de Salbatierra. I received the letter of his Reverence only after having arrived at the Yaqui River. In it he told me he was leaving in his place Father Juan de Ugarte, whom he left with orders to give me the captaincy, and I took possession of it on the twenty-second of October, with the formal title. It⁸⁸ and my person are ready to obey the mandates of your Reverence. I do not give more extensive news of what has occurred over here, because I have not yet left this first settlement of Loreto, etc.

Thus far Captain Juan Baupptista de Escalante; and the same day, October 22, occurred the death of the father visitor, Manuel Pineyro, as Father Marcos Antonio Capuz wrote me in the following letter:

On October 22, Father Visitor Don Manuel Pineyro died. The Father Provincial of the Augustinian friars, Fray Diego de la Cadena, conducted the obsequies and the burial, in the presence of all the religious and of all Mexico. The mail was opened, and immediately a post was set to meet Father Juan Maria de Salbatierra, who had set out from Guadalajara on October 26, and the post, missing the father on the road, arrived at Guadalajara on the first of November, and immediately returned to Mexico; and there is no doubt that now Father Juan Maria de Salbatierra is provincial.

Thus far Father Marcos Antonio Kapus.

⁸⁷ Basaldua, Juan Manuel.

⁸⁸ The company of soldiers.

CHAPTER IX. LETTER OF CAPTAIN DON GREGORIO ALBAREZ TUÑON Y QUIROS, SAYING THAT, RECONNOITERING THE FRONTIERS, HE IS COMING TO THE PIMERIA; AND OUR CHRISTMAS CELEBRATION IN THE NEW PUEBLO OF NUESTRA SEÑORA DEL PILAR DE COCOSPERA

On September 17 of this year, 1704, Captain Don Gregorio Albarez Tuñon y Quiros from his presidio of Corodeguachi wrote me the following letter:

My delay, your Reverence, has been on account of my inability to go in person to give thanks to your Reverence for the service which you wish to do to his Majesty in arranging that the Pimas shall accompany me on the campaign. And now, although I am awaiting two posts, one from Mexico and another from Parral, I have determined to set out to reconnoiter the vicinity of Terenate and to come to this your Reverence's pueblo of Cocospera, where I hope we shall see each other and I will report. My zeal is that the Pimas may be well thought of, and it has seemed well to me to dispatch the bearers to give this notice to your Reverence and to ask that you will please dispatch it at once to the lieutenant of those Pimas, whom I summon also, that we may meet in said Pueblo of Cocospera. And, God willing, I shall set out from here without fail on Thursday. I beseech your Reverence to provide for me five loads of flour.

Thus far Captain Don Gregorio, in the letter which he dispatched to me by two soldiers. And in order that the proper arrangements for this expedition and campaign which he had determined to make in the company of many Pimas might be better effected, on the twenty-fifth of the month of January next following I determined to go, and I went, to celebrate the feast of the Nativity at my third pueblo of Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Cocospera, whither came the said Captain Don Gregorio Albarez with many soldiers, and the lieutenant of this Pimeria and I. And there were pres-

ent at the Christmas celebration and at the very good new church and house of that pueblo, not only the natives of my three pueblos, but also a great concourse of captains and governors from the interior,⁸⁹ from the north as well as from the northeast and the northwest. There were all the ceremonies which are usual in well ordered parishes. A sermon was preached in the language of the natives, and in Castilian there were many confessions and communions, among them that of Captain Don Gregorio, who by his good example edified and encouraged others to partake of this Holy Sacrament. There was a good choir of singers; many natives were catechized and baptized; and there were marriages according to the rites of the church, with dances and entertainments and good food for all. And many things profitable for the welfare and advancement of these new conversions and for the good of this province were determined, although the accustomed obstacles were not lacking. One of them was that of which the lieutenant of the Real de Bacanuchi wrote me in a letter of December 26 in these words:

I bring to your Reverence's notice the fact that the enemies of Mabobabi came out against two soldiers, Juan Mazon and Antonio de Barrios, and an Indian who was carrying clothing for Father Bassilio, and wrought their treachery as always. They killed the two soldiers, but the Indian escaped through the intervention of God. They carried off the clothing and spoils of the soldiers and the horses. They say there are signs that enemies are coming in by way of Chinapas and Monte Grande.

Thus far the Señor lieutenant of the Real de Bacanuchi, Christobal Granillo de Salazar.

⁸⁹ That is, Indian captains and governors.

PART IV

OF THE CELESTIAL FAVORS OF
Jesus, Most Holy Mary, and the Most
Glorious Apostle of the Indies, San
Francisco Jabier, Experienced in the
New Conquests and New Conversions
of this Pimeria and the Surrounding
New Nations of this Province of So-
nora, in New Spain, North America,
in the Years 1705 and 1706

PROLOGUE TO THE CHARITABLE READER

Having written the three preceding parts of these *Celestial Favors*, three years ago, in the midst of my many occupations as well as the various obstacles and the opposition which our Lord permitted in these new conversions, and, thirdly, with uncertainty as to the destination which they might reach, or whether or not these papers would be of any use, I discontinued the writing of this treatise until the present year of 1709, when I am receiving new letters from our Father General Miguel Anjel Tamburini, as well as from other fathers and persons of dignity, which move me to continue the undertaking. The very paternal and holy letter of our father general contains these words:

I heartily rejoice that your Reverence may continue your treatise on those missions entitled *Celestial Favors*, the first part of which you sent us here. I hope to receive the other two parts which your Reverence promises, and that they may all be approved in Mexico, in order that they may be published. The news which your Reverence gives me fills me with joy, and with the desire to repay the anxieties and glorious labors of your Reverence and of your companions. Here the wars, etc., detain our missionaries, etc.

Thus far our father general. Father Fernando Bayerca wrote me recently that he had just received a new book printed in Paris in the French language in the year 1705 with a new map of these new conquests, conversions, and discoveries, with the title *Passage by Land to California, discovered by the Reverend Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, where also are seen the New*

*Missions of the Fathers of the Company of Jesus,*⁹⁰ etc. He rejoiced greatly at the discovery of the land route to California. The coming of the father visitor of Tarmaures, Antonio de Herrera, to these missions of Sonora and to this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, consoled and encouraged us greatly, for he solemnized many baptisms and marriages, and promised the captains and governors from the interior who were here the missionary fathers whom with tender insistence they asked of him. During the course of his visit Father Francisco Maria Picolo wrote me that his Reverence had very great and confident hopes that in proportion as the persecutions of California and this Pimeria were many, their promotion and advancement must be very promising, for such has been the experience of all the greater missions.

And especially the present father provincial, Juan de Estrada,⁹¹ as well as other prominent fathers, and other men, seculars, have held the same opinion, namely, that in their time these new conversions were to make great progress, for, although in the space of twenty-three years since these new missions were begun the many fathers who have been needed have not come, the father provincials have always sent them, but human opposition has taken them away, or else the divine sovereign providence of our Lord takes them. As Father Fran-

⁹⁰ The reference is of course to the Kino map printed in *Le Gobien's Lettres Édifiantes*, of which there are several editions. The title in the 1705 edition is *Passage par terre a la Californie Decouvert par le Rev. Pere Eusebe-François Kino Jesuite depuis 1698, jusqu'a 1701 ou l'on voit encore les Nouvelles Missions des PP. de la Compagnie de Jesus*.

⁹¹ On November 3, 1707, the former provincial died. Immediately the instructions in *casu mortis* were opened and Juan de Estrada, provost of the Casa Profesa, was found named in it (*Alegre, Historia*, vol. iii, 149-150). He was succeeded by Antonio Jardón, who was appointed early in 1708 (*idem*, 153).

cisco Maria Picolo writes, and as Father Visitor Horazio Polize has asserted, He will be able to send in His own good time the fathers predestined and chosen for so blessed a ministry for the welfare of so many souls. For, although here this opposition exists and has existed, yet, all these new conversions are always in a state of continued peace and quietude, and show constant perseverance in desiring and asking for missionary fathers and holy baptism. And, thanks to the sovereign Lord, the teaching of the holy law of our holy Catholic faith is ever prosperously extending more and more, and securing in great numbers catechumens and those who desire to receive the boon of their eternal salvation.

BOOK I. NEW GOVERNMENT. FATHER
PROVINCIAL JUAN MARIA DE SALBATIER-
RA; FIRST AND SECOND PERSECUTIONS OF
THESE NEW CONVERSIONS IN THE FIRST
MONTHS OF THIS YEAR 1705, AND THE
GOOD SUCCESS WITH WHICH OUR
LORD, WITH HIS CELESTIAL FAVORS,
IS PLEASED TO BRING US FORTH
IN SAFETY FROM THEM

CHAPTER I. OF THE ARRIVAL OF FATHER JUAN
MARIA DE SALBATIERRA FROM CALIFORNIA AT
MEXICO, WHERE HIS REVERENCE ENTERS AS
FATHER PROVINCIAL OF THIS NEW SPAIN

One of the principal persons of this province of So-
nora wrote me the following letter:

I sent the report which we, the friends of the common good and of the province, etc., have made and signed, with a mind to present it to the higher authorities, because I believe that God our Lord favors the interests of your Reverence and of those new conversions, and frustrates the mischievous designs of the adversaries. Therefore I shall now tell you why I ask a reward, and it is that Joachin de Mora has just arrived from Mexico with the news that the father visitor general, Father Manuel Pineyro, has died; and during the illness of which he died he wrote to the father rector, Juan Maria, by a messenger who arranged to meet the courier in Guadalajara. The purport of it was that Father Rector Juan Maria should accelerate and hasten his journey to Mexico, for he had many matters to communicate to him pertaining to and concerning the religious and conversions. Although his Reverence went post-haste, he found him already dead; but he left in writing

the disposition of affairs and the order that Father Juan Maria should take his place as visitor general and provincial.

And Father Marcos Antonio Capuz wrote that immediately a courier was sent out to meet Father Juan Maria de Salbatierra, who left Guadalajara on October 26. The courier, missing the said father on the way, arrived at Guadalajara on November 1, and immediately returned to Mexico, where the father provincial, Juan Maria de Salbatierra, governed and visited the province until he returned again to California. And from California he went a second time to Mexico, and from Mexico, leaving as his successor Father Provincial Bernardo de Rolandegui, he returned a third time to California, as shall be written in full in the proper time and place.

CHAPTER II. OF THE FIRST AND VERY GREAT PERSECUTION WHICH OCCURRED IN THESE THREE MONTHS OF JANUARY, FEBRUARY, AND MARCH, ESPECIALLY AGAINST THIS PUEBLO OF NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS DOLORES

An indiscreet lieutenant gave out that from this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores we had sent the justices to draw the Indians from some pueblos to add them to others, even ourselves offering gifts therefor.⁹² In view of this they accused and persecuted and molested us very sorely, and the royal justice, the said lieutenant, accompanied by others, came repeatedly, violently and with great harshness, many stripes, and serious threats of hanging, of death, etc., and took from us many Indians, more than ninety on one occasion alone. The justices and the governor of this pueblo said that neither by gifts nor in any other way had we

⁹² Ortega summarizes the episode on page 315 of the *Apostólicos Afanes*. He calls the lieutenant "equally haughty, greedy, and cowardly."

taken those Indians from other pueblos, but that of their own accord, for very good reasons which they alleged, free as they were, they had moved to the pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. It was decided to take them aside and ask them whether they had been brought here by gifts, or coaxed, and where or in which of the pueblos they would rather live; and all except three, two of whom afterward remained, said that no one coaxed or sent for them, but that they had all moved to this pueblo of their own free will, and asked that they be left here in quietude, where they were quite content. Nevertheless, after some days many of these poor natives were taken away in my absence, with much violence and with insults, harsh punishment with stripes and threats of death, etc. But most of them, after a little time, would return to this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, where they are found to this day.

The persecution passed on, even to the interior, where we had, and, thanks be to God, we still have in prosperity some very good missions begun, with what is necessary for the new fathers, who, by God's help, were living with good beginnings of Christian doctrine and of baptisms, with houses in which to live, with cattle, sheep, goats, and horses, with fields and crops of wheat, maize, beans, etc. Our people were greatly afflicted, for this indiscreet lieutenant wished to remove them from their very convenient posts and very rich lands, to take them for his own interests and prohibited service to other posts less convenient for those peoples. This persecution took away from the houses of the new missions the provisions, wheat, and maize, the tierce of salt, the sheep and goats, and the poor weeping people, the intention being to go on another occasion to take away also the cattle and the droves of mares, and to leave

everything destroyed, even to a chapel in which we said mass and where the Christian doctrine was taught and prayers said morning and evening. Our persecutors most rudely burnt it for us, until our Lord vouchsafed that, some prudent and Christian persons interposing, the people returned to their new missions and our sheep and goats were restored to us.

There was great regret by the righteous over what had happened, and among other persons zealous for the service of both majesties Father Horacio Polize wrote me the following:

On the one hand, I am greatly grieved by the persecution, so iniquitous, and on the other hand I envy your Reverence your patience and virtue, so steadfast.

Thus far the former father visitor; and the actual father visitor, Father Antonio Leal, on March 6 wrote me the following:

Yesterday, coming from Arispe, I received your Reverence's letter of the twenty-fourth ultimo, and a little afterward that of the third instant. Both grieved me on account of the trials of the poor natives as well as for the affliction of your Reverence, for, as they are children of sorrow, raised up at the cost of so many steps, cares, and efforts of your Reverence, their loss and molestation or vexation is the more sensible. Already I am writing to the alcalde mayor, and I hope in the Lord that everything shall be rectified.

Afterward Father Geronimo Minutili went to the Valley of Sonora, and Father Visitor Antonio Leal, having investigated everything, his Reverence was amazed, yet comforted notwithstanding persecution, when the following arose.

CHAPTER III. A SECOND VERY GRAVE, UNJUST,
AND CALUMNIOUS PERSECUTION OF THE
TWO PRINCIPAL CAPTAINS OF
THESE NEW CONVERSIONS

When in these months the indiscreet lieutenant of this Pimeria came on to Santa Maria to his bartering for their maize (for he said that for this he had requested and obtained the lieutenancy of this Pimeria), Captain Coro, who in baptism was called and is called Antonio Leal, advised him not to vex so often and inflict his ill treatment so rigorously upon the poor Pimas, who gave him no cause therefor, since he might run the risk of their retiring to the hills or to the hostile Jocomes and Apaches.⁹³ He was so angry at these words, although very just, that he accused Captain Coro and the captain and governor of Cocospera, called Francisco Pacheco (commonly Cola de Palo) before the Señor alcalde mayor, and before the father visitor, and before General Juan de Retana, who had come on business of the presidio of this province, saying that they had revolted and were involved in the revolt of the greater part of this Pimeria, and that they were on the point of coming to attack this province of Sonora. Now they gave us these reports, although very incorrect, which caused much commotion and gave much concern to all this province of Sonora. Again they ordered us to depart from the Pimeria and to take away and secure the things of the churches, etc.,⁹⁴ for on the twenty-fifth of March Father Visitor Antonio Leal wrote me the following letter:

I greatly desired a letter from there, because of the ill news which has come that Coro was coming to kill fathers

⁹³ Summarized by Ortega, *idem.*, 316.

⁹⁴ That is, they counseled the missionaries to flee for safety from the Pimas. The reference is to Father Leal's letter just below.

and whomsoever he might encounter. I heard of this last night and immediately I reported to the alcalde mayor, who now will believe, and to General Retana. I am awaiting replies. Your Reverence's letter has consoled me greatly, for, although El Coro may have these feelings, according to your Reverence's letter it is not so bad. God grant that he may go no farther. If there is danger, which your Reverence may discern, set out immediately and secure the things of the churches and whatever is possible, for thus I have already written to the Father Rector. Your Reverence, being nearer at hand, if you should have any news regarding the matter, impart it immediately to the fathers, and secure their lives and whatever is possible. They have delayed so long in removing the cause that the effect which we feared is resulting. May God defend us, and guard me your Reverence, etc. Some fathers are now saying that the two fathers who were coming are in Culiacan. They will arrive at an inauspicious time if the Pimeria is so bad, although they say that they⁹⁵ have come from far in the interior to see your Reverence.

Thus far the very ill-informed Father Visitor Antonio Leal. And in the same manner the very ill-informed Captain Juan Diaz de Teran, who a few months ago ceased to be lieutenant of this Pimeria, wrote me of his very indiscreet successor⁹⁶ as follows:

I arrived at this your Reverence's house in safety, thank God. On the way I happened to receive a letter from the actual captain-lieutenant of this Pimeria in which he asks me for an escort, because El Coro was at the ranch of El Siboda killing droves of mares and cattle. And they say he was going to kill fathers and do other shameful deeds. Some say that he says he has many people from the interior in his following. May our Lord hinder them in purposes so evil and guard me your Reverence.

Thus far Captain Theran. But all was a lie, a fiction, a chimera, a calumny, as shall soon be seen, and could

⁹⁵ The natives.

⁹⁶ Kino is very careful not to mention the names of his opponents here. Indeed, he usually practiced restraint in this particular.

not serve as anything but a trick for the common enemy, to hinder, as always, the coming of the missionary fathers so necessary, whereby the eternal salvation of souls may be obstructed and delayed.

I omit here many other long letters which Father Antonio Leal, as well as General Retana, wrote me, and others very incorrectly informed, who insisted that I should coöperate to the end that the tumults of these captains of this revolted Pimeria should be put down and quieted; that the indiscreet lieutenant should be removed, that satisfaction should be given to the aggrieved Pima captains, saying that by composing and quieting this revolt I should do a thing of much honor and glory, to me and to our Lady Mother, the Company, etc. But all was no more than a mere chimera and calumny, as shall be seen in the following chapters.

CHAPTER IV. CONCLUSIVE PROOF THAT THERE IS NOT THE LEAST TRACE OF THE PRETENDED REVOLT WHICH WAS REPORTED, EITHER BY THE ABOVE MENTIONED CAPTAINS, OR BY ANY OTHER OF THIS PIMERIA. THE REFUTATION IS DRAWN AND THE CALUMNIOUS FALSITY OF THE ALLEGED REVOLT, AND THE INNOCENCE OF THESE PIMA CAPTAINS OF THIS PIMERIA ARE SHOWN, FROM THE LETTERS AND CERTIFICATIONS OF GENERAL JUAN DE RETANA, AS WELL AS THOSE OF THE ALCALDE MAYOR OF THIS PROVINCE

General Juan de Retana, captain of the Presidio of San Francisco de Conchos, having come to this province of Sonora, on the twenty-fifth of March wrote me the following:

By Captain Christobal Granillo de Salazar I sent to your Reverence and also to the Pima children, and particularly to

the chiefs, my very cordial greetings, because I find myself engaged in this presidio and province in matters pertaining to the service of his Majesty, by order of the most excellent Señor Viceroy, the Duque de Albuquerque.⁹⁷ I thank your Reverence heartily for the remembrances of the Pimas and also of those of the interior, to whom I return them with all affection. And because of the news Father Leal gives me, I beseech you that when you can, with the zeal which is ever present with your Reverence for the service of both Majesties and for the good and quietude of those natives, you will despatch on my behalf a message to Captain Coro, assuring him on behalf of the governor of this kingdom and on mine in his name, that he and his shall still be watched over and protected by us. If there be any remedy required for any grievance from the lieutenant or from other Spaniards, etc., and if it is true that some Indians were transferred against their will to another pueblo, I am not pleased with the state of things.

On the second of April the Señor alcalde mayor, Don Miguel de Abajo, wrote me the following:

I have just arrived at this Valley of Bacanuchi, bringing with me twelve soldiers, for with the news and letters of the very reverend father visitor as well as of other persons, concerning these countries, it has been necessary for me to leave home unseasonably, with distress and disgust enough for the great [disturbance] which the report of the revolt of this Pima nation has occasioned in all the land. But having arrived at this valley and found one of your Reverence's letters written to General Juan Matheo,⁹⁸ by its news I am very much pleased. And because the day after tomorrow I hope to arrive to render my obedience to Your Most Reverend Paternity at the pueblo of Cocospera, I shall appreciate it if your Reverence will order Captain Coro summoned, and his chiefs and all the other governors, with whom I have a desire to talk, as also to see your Reverence with all good health. May our Lord preserve it for you.

⁹⁷ Francisco Fernández de la Cueva, Duque de Albuquerque, Marqués de Cuellar, was viceroy from 1702 to 1711.

⁹⁸ Juan Mateo Manje, evidently.

And two days afterward, on April 4, his Grace wrote me the following:

I have just arrived at this pueblo of Cocospera, where I have received your Reverence's letter; and with that, and with seeing the Indians, I wish to inform your Reverence that I have had especial comfort. I am sorry not to have had the pleasure of seeing your Reverence, and to obtain this happiness so much the sooner, I wish your Reverence would grant me a favor in behalf of all these soldiers and citizens of the Valley of Opodepe and of myself, since, because of my horses' exhaustion and my late arrival, I have not rested, and have determined to rest this afternoon; and therefore if tomorrow, Palm Sunday, you would do us a favor [by being] at Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, I mean Los Remedios, I should have more and more spiritual comfort from the mass. Now if we could go on to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores [we should spare you] this trouble; but it is impossible. And because we all trust in the great charity of your Reverence to grant us this favor, we shall pray our Lord to guard us your Reverence many years.

Thus far the Señor alcalde mayor, and the citizens of the Valley of Opodepe, who with the former lieutenant, Juan Diaz de Teran, also had come in on this west side to join him with the soldiers who had come, and were to join him on the return from Bazera[ca] and Janos to quiet the much talked-of revolt, which was found to be chimerical, because, having entered Cocospera, I summoned Captain Coro and he came immediately with his very friendly people, and with Captain Pacheco and the governor of Cocospera. They found him there with his people, perfectly quiet, and we all came most amicably to spend the Holy Week and holy Easter-tide at the pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, which was all celebrated with all solemnity, and with a great concourse of Spaniards and soldiers, as well as of the very numerous people who came

from the interior to the Procession of Penitents of Holy Week, and to comply with the obligations of the Church, etc. And immediately I despatched, with a letter from me, the captains who so unjustly had been considered as rebels, that they might go personally to see the Señor General Juan Fernandez de Retana, as they did go;⁹⁹ and his Grace on the twenty-first of April wrote me the following:

Yesterday, the twentieth instant, I received your Reverence's two letters of the seventh and fifteenth, by the captains and governors Francisco Pacheco and El Coro, called Antonio Leal, by whom I reply to the two above-mentioned letters. I appreciate greatly the news which your Reverence is pleased to give me, to the effect that all the Pima nation is in all peace and quietude. The chiefs, Francisco Pacheco and El Coro, give me the same assurance; and without a doubt your Reverence must have taken great pleasure in the assemblage of the Señor alcalde, the citizens of Opodepe, the soldiers, the numerous Pimas from round about these pueblos, and the heathen from long distances in the interior, for Easter. I thank them all for the greetings which they sent me in your Reverence's letter, and to them I beg your Reverence to return them on my behalf with all affection; for I will aid them in whatever may offer, for the security of both Pacheco and El Coro, to whom I have given the advice conducive to their quietude and continued obedience to his Majesty (God save him), giving them the same assurance in behalf of the Señor governor and captain general of this kingdom. We all know about most of the many expeditions which your Reverence has made to said nation and to others near it, and also of the goodly number of which they are composed, and of their disposition to receive the water of holy baptism, all results of the great zeal and toil of your Reverence for the good of these souls. Likewise I am apprised of the couriers whom your Reverence had sent to the nation and captain of Quiquimas who live on the Rio Colorado and who sent your Reverence the blue shells from the opposite coast, with the news of having discovered a land route

⁹⁹ This event is noted by Ortega, *Apostólicos Afanes*, on page 416.

to California, etc., at which I rejoice; and I hope that in the Valley of Sonora we shall be able to meet and report, etc. I have regaled and bestowed such gifts upon Pacheco and El Coro as this remote situation permits; and I only regret that they did not find me in my presidio, that I might have made my customary demonstration with such chiefs, regaling them, etc.

Thus far General Retana; and the said general with much charity and with very Christian breeding regaled these two Pima captains, as well as the other sons who came in his company, with much clothing, cloth, skirts, hats, knives, ribbons, baize, etc., and they returned very contented, consoled, and edified, they as well as all the nation. In many other letters his Grace wrote me a thousand courteous things, and said that the indiscreet lieutenant should be removed, on account of the great importance of obviating chimeras that disturb the children, as his Grace says, to the hurt of their souls, through impeding the coming of the father ministers of the gospel. Besides, there were the juridical certifications by the Señor alcalde mayor and by the same lieutenant, of the good state of the Pimeria, and that in it there is not the slightest trace of the much and falsely talked-of revolt.

CHAPTER V. LETTERS OF TWO FATHER VISITORS
WHICH CONFIRM THE ABOVE REFUTATION,
AND TELL OF THE GOOD STATE OF
THIS PIMERIA

With the new government of the Father Provincial Juan Maria de Salbatierra came the Father Visitor Francisco Maria Picolo to succeed the Father Visitor Antonio Leal, both of whom, being very well and very truly informed by the royal justices as well as by different fathers, wrote me the two following letters: The Father Visitor Antonio Leal, on the first of April

wrote thus from Banamichi, it being already night, he said, because the following day¹⁰⁰ he was going to celebrate the feast of Our Lady of Sorrows:

I give your Reverence many and many times repeated thanks for this letter containing such good, joyful, and pleasing news, for we here and all of the province were greatly concerned over what they had written about El Coro. May God recompense your Reverence and keep El Coro in His holy grace and holy faith. The Señor alcalde mayor writes me that he was already sending to remove the lieutenant. The Pimeria being quiet, I have no doubt the new Father Visitor, Francisco Maria Picolo, who is probably at Matape this Holy Week, will place there the two new fathers, although according to the previous news that they already have probably arrived at the Real de los Frayles, in Sinaloa, they are probably coming with some misgivings. Many times again I thank your Reverence for the very good news that so many children are on the point of coming to observe Easter with your Reverence, whom our Lord grant as joyful and good news as Christmas has given me and as your Reverence gives. And I pray you that in your holy sacrifices you will commend me to our Lord. Banamichi, April 1, Night, etc.

Thus far Father Visitor Antonio Leal. And the new father visitor, Francisco Maria Picolo, from Matape on April 14 wrote me the following:

Today with how great pleasure and comfort I have received the two most delightful letters from your Reverence, because of the news which they give me of your Reverence's health (may our Lord prosper it for you for many happy Easters) and because of the pleasure which your Reverence gives me in regard to the state of the Pimeria; for the sinister rumors which have been current have given me some concern, although I had been reassured by the letters of Father Antonio Leal. Now with those from your Reverence I am consoled, blessed be God; and may He grant me the favor of seeing your Reverence in health and our Pimeria glad and quiet. In spite of the Devil, who seeks confusion, those apostolic missions are going to be founded and

¹⁰⁰ *El dia siguiente* is repeated in the original.

advanced. Have fortitude, your Reverence, and patience, for I trust in the Lord that all will be adjusted and composed, and that the machinations of all Hell against the Pimeria shall not prevail.¹⁰¹ Tomorrow, Wednesday, God willing, I shall go to Los Ures. I take that route in order as soon as possible to be with your Reverence and with my Father Geronimo Minutuli, whom I salute heartily.

And on April 29 his Reverence writes me from Guepaca the following:

I would fain not write, but instead would speak face to face with my beloved Father Eusebio Francisco Kino. I am very busy, but I rejoice that my dear Father Geronimo is a bearer of news, and that I am apprized of what has happened. God dearly loves those souls, and the Devil, for all the tumults he stirs up, shall not prevail. Father Poni writes that Father Juan Maria de Salbatierra will go in June to California, having first visited the province. I await General Juan de Retana, who has summoned me for the seventh day of March.

In view of this letter from his Reverence and of another from General Juan de Retana, I went to the Valley of Sonora to meet his Reverence on May 7 and to give report of everything and of the pleasing and solemn Easter and Holy Week which we had had, and of the fathers whom we needed. And they were promised to us, but the accustomed and continual opposition has prevented their coming to this day, for the space of twenty-three years, as I shall set forth in the following chapter.

¹⁰¹ *Nom prebaleynti.*

CHAPTER VI. OF THE VERY GREAT AND SERIOUS
HINDRANCE TO THE WELFARE OF SOULS WHICH
THE CALUMNIOUS, SINISTER REPORTS AND
FALSE TESTIMONY HAVE CAUSED IN THE
NEW CONVERSION

At the end and conclusion of the preceding Chapter Four of this Book One, of this Fourth Part of these *Celestial Favors*, [General Juan Retana] says very Christianlike in his most prudent letter, that it is very important to obviate chimeras which perturb the children, for, as his Grace in very Catholic fashion says, they are a detriment to their souls, and impede the coming of the ministers of the gospel. And it is the naked truth that in the midst of a thousand celestial favors which in other ways in these new conquests and new conversions our Lord has continually vouchsafed us, we have experienced this grievous hindrance that, because of these incorrect reports and because of their perfidious contradictions and very unjust opposition, there have not come to us now during these twenty-three years the missionary fathers who are so much needed, and whom so many times and so repeatedly the higher authorities have promised and even sent us, as I shall state:

I. First, by these chimeras, contradictions, and calumnious reports of feigned revolts which I have just related, and which the letters which I cite in these preceding chapters mention, they have grievously hindered the coming of the two fathers who were sent to us, and who, as the letter of the father visitor, Antonio Leal, mentions in Chapter III of this Book First, were on the way and were already in Juliacan,¹⁰² but none of whom arrived in the new conversions.

¹⁰² Culiacán.

II. It has been said, and it is true, that it is because of like contradictions and false reports and law-suits which the disaffected have brought against us, that all this extensive Pimeria, etc., is not already well settled with missionary fathers.

III. Very many fathers have been sent to us in the times of all the father provincials who have held office in these twenty-three years, but always the above-mentioned contradictions and the opposition, through the false reports of the disaffected, have hindered them. Thus the Father Provincial Diego de Almonazir sent us seven missionary fathers¹⁰³ for these new conversions, as his Reverence wrote to our Father General Thirso Gonzales of Rome, and his Reverence wrote me from Rome to these new conversions, but the fathers did not arrive here.

IV. When, thirteen years ago,¹⁰⁴ I went to Mexico to secure fathers for this Pimeria, the father provincial, Juan de Palacios, assigned and gave me five fathers, and very good hopes that afterward he would send me others besides, as soon as they should finish taking orders and complete the third year of probation, etc. But we have remained without them and lack them to this day.

All the other father provincials have sent us missionary fathers and have named them for me in their holy letters, but they have not arrived here. A few years ago a father provincial sent me four new fathers at one time for these new conversions,¹⁰⁵ who came with good fortune as far as Sinaloa and Conicari. The accustomed opposition sent the false reports that Pimeria had revolted, as I was informed from Conicari.

¹⁰³ See volume i, 116.

¹⁰⁴ In 1695. See volume i, 158-160.

¹⁰⁵ See volume i, 302.

With regret for so great a misfortune at the time of the coming of four missionary fathers, I despatched to Conicari a messenger, an eye-witness, who had just made with me a journey of a hundred and seventy leagues,¹⁰⁶ to report that there had not been the least trace of the slightest revolt. But meanwhile the four fathers had already been assigned to other places there, and a report of it had been given to the father provincial; and, because of the accustomed false reports of the continual opposition, none of the four fathers whom the father provincial had sent us arrived at these new conversions, which need them so much.

Our Father General Miguel Anjel Tamvurini, in a very fine and most courteous letter, which I received within the last few months, tells me that for two years he has had fathers ready to send to these new conversions, but they are detained by the wars and dangers of the seas, etc. Notwithstanding, they tell me that some have now arrived in Mexico, where already there are persons to send, but that the outfit for them for the journey was lacking; and we are now arranging here to send some mules and some silver to help pay these expenses, for here we have missions begun, provided with houses, with wheat and maize, cattle, sheep, and goats, etc., and lands suitable for breadstuffs, and most fertile, etc. And we hope in the very loving and great providence of our Lord that in view of the missionary fathers who have failed to come hitherto, and since our Lord is pleased lavishly to give us harvests so full, so copious, and so seasoned, and so ripe, of new nations so extensive, which spread over two hundred and more leagues of this North America, the greatest and most complete number will come in His own time.

¹⁰⁶ This was the journey made in September and October, 1700.

We were not far wrong, Father Visitor Manuel Gonzales and I, when, twenty-two years ago, we said that we were going to need fifty missionary father laborers for these very extensive fields of this North America, which we had then seen here; and now, thanks be to the lord, we have it very well subdued under our hands. And since that time twenty-two years ago when from Opossura, the district which said Father Manuel Gonzales administers and whither I went to see and discuss things with his Reverence, we wrote this point to our father general at Rome, and said that in His time we should need fifty missionary fathers, it appears that, thanks be to the Lord, our desires for the most part are being fulfilled; especially since with the greatest comfort to us our Father General Anjel Tanburini has just written us that we must not conclude that, when in times so depressed our Lord gives us the happy discoveries of so many nations and of so many souls, it is in order that we shall see them lost, that is, condemned, but rather to give us means and forces to bring them from their forests and place them in pueblos, with churches, and that they may be saved.

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BOOK II. THE COMING AND VISIT OF THE NEW FATHER VISITOR, FRANCISCO MARIA PICOLO, TO THESE NEW MISSIONS

CHAPTER I. THE COMING OF THE FATHER VISITOR, FRANCISCO MARIA PICOLO, TO THIS FIRST PUEBLO OF NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS DOLORES, WHERE HE HOLDS THE FEAST OF THE ASCENSION OF OUR LORD

I having gone to the Valley of Sonora, on my return the father visitor, Francisco Maria Picolo, came with me to this valley of Opodepe and of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, and his Reverence, having spent some days inspecting the three pueblos of Father Rector Melchor de Bartiromo, Opodepe, Tuape, and Cucurpe, he wrote me on May 18 the following letter.

With much pleasure I received the very welcome letter of your Reverence, because of the news which it gives me of your safe arrival at your holy house and mission. May our Lord prosper it for you according to my desires and for the great good of those dearly beloved children. I hope to see them Wednesday morning, God willing, and to place myself at your Reverence's disposal. I shall set out, then, at Vespers of the Ascension of our Lord.

Accordingly, his Reverence came to this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, where we welcomed him with great pleasure and with a great concourse of many natives, captains, and governors, some of whom had come from far in the interior to the feast of the Ascension of Our Lord, on which his Reverence chant-

ed the solemn mass, accompanied by the good choir of singers which was here. In the chapel he preached to the children a fervid sermon in the Pima tongue. We discussed the conversion of this extensive nation and of its neighbors, and the succor of California, his Reverence promising us many fathers. His Reverence was pleased to see this good and large church with good bells and ornaments, a good house, a good garden, etc. After three days we went to the neighboring mission of San Ygnacio, which then was and still is administered by Father Agustin de Campos, who came to meet us more than half way. And in his second pueblo, that of Santa Maria Magdalena, where he was building the church and the house, they welcomed us with all kindness. And, I returning to this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, the father visitor, with Father Agustin de Canpuz, went fifteen leagues to the westward to the mission of San Pedro y San Pablo del Tubutama, which was and is administered by Father Gerónimo Minutil[i], whose second pueblo is Santa Teresa de Caborca, and whose third is Antonio del Uquitoa. In all these places building was going on, I having undertaken at my charge the building of the church of San Pedro y San Pablo del Tubutama because, thanks be to the Lord, I had now finished the three churches of the three pueblos of my administration. From San Pedro y San Pablo del Tubutama on May 31 the father visitor wrote me the following letter:

May our Lord, according to my desires, prosper the health of your Reverence, at whose orders mine is ready to serve your Reverence. I have received letters from the father provincial, and we must have a talk. Father Rector Bartiromo tells me that at present the meeting of which we had spoken cannot be held, although his Reverence may come for the feast of Corpus Christi to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, and Father Agustin will go also. On Wednesday, God willing, we shall be at

Santa Magdalena, on our return trip. Father Agustin and Father Geronimo salute your Reverence heartily. I shall rejoice if your Reverence has held Pentecost with satisfaction. So be it for many years, etc. *Vale mey memor.*¹⁰⁷ Tubutama, May 31, 1705. Your Reverence's humble servant, and altogether yours,

FRANCISCO MARIA PICOLO.

Afterward, his Reverence came to the pueblo of Santa Maria Magdalena, whence on June 3 he wrote to me that he, as well as Father Agustin, desired to come to see my new churches and to hold the feast of Corpus Christi, and he did go to the middle pueblo, which is San Ygnacio, and to the third pueblo, which is Señor San Joseph de Ymiris,¹⁰⁸ whither I went to meet his Reverence, and whence in company with Father Agustin he came to the second and third pueblos under my administration, namely, Nuestra Señora de los Remedios and Santiago (or Nuestra Señora del Pilar) de Cocospera, where the fathers rejoiced to see the two good and spacious new churches, both having transepts and both of which had been dedicated in the same week a little more than a year before.¹⁰⁹ We came to this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, whither came also Father Rector Melchor Bartiromo; and with the concourse of many Spaniards besides, who came from the neighboring mining camps, and of many natives from near here and from the interior we held a solemn feast and procession of Corpus Christi, with a reliquary of gilded silver which in these past years Father Phelipe Esgrecho has presented as a gift to this new mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. In the following year I bought at Matape another very good reliquary or ceryl with wheat from this productive mission.

¹⁰⁷ "Farewell, do not forget me."

¹⁰⁸ Ymiris.

¹⁰⁹ See volume ii, 81-83.

CHAPTER II. RETURN OF THE FATHER VISITOR TO
THE VALLEY OF SONORA; AND MOST COUR-
TEOUS LETTERS WHICH HIS REVERENCE
AND HIS PREDECESSOR WRITE ME

After this inspection of these new missions and the solemnity of the feast and procession of Corpus Christi, the father visitor turned back to Sonora and to the inspection of the other missions of this province, and we four fathers set out to hold the same feast on Sunday within the octave¹¹⁰ at the neighboring pueblo of Cucurpe. Father Agustin and I returning to our Pimeria, the father visitor went on to Saracachi, a ranch of Cucurpe, whither I sent him some trifles; and his Reverence on June 15 wrote me the following letter:

I am in receipt of your Reverence's most welcome letter telling of your arrival at your most beautiful mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, which I bear graven upon my heart, together with all the other missions of the Pimeria. May our Lord prosper your Reverence's health for many and great things for his greater glory. I am ready to serve your Reverence in any respect whatsoever, being very grateful to you, not so much for favors, caresses, and kindnesses which I have received in those holy houses of your Reverence, as for the love which I owe and have in my heart for you; and your Reverence's rare and most religious talents deserve it. I received the wine and the fruit from the fertile garden; may your Reverence live for me many years. Your Reverence's gifts still accompany me, and your garden, it seems, follows me with its choicest fruits. In truth, its apricots have come to me at Saracachi, perhaps for the farewell.

Thus far the father visitor, Francisco Maria Picolo, as he was travelling toward the Valley of Sonora. And his predecessor, Father Antonio Leal, on June 27, wrote me the following:

A few days ago I wrote to your Reverence in great haste,

¹¹⁰ *Dominica infra octavam.*

although very gladly, and now I receive the same pleasure and comfort both because of what your Reverence wrote you had, and because the father visitor told me that all the Pimeria was like a peaceful sky, as a volition and a non-volition of all the wills of my best-beloved fathers, and that your Reverence was very pleased and happy, which in truth has consoled me greatly. I hope in God that now the Christian labor of my happy nation will make long strides, even though the Devil, who hinders it, may seek and find other means and ways, with a view to winning his point. But I hope in God that nothing will prevail but the blood of Christ, shed for that end, and obtained by your Reverence's travails and efforts; and for everything I give your Reverence hearty congratulations, and especially for the pleasing fact that the father visitor has come. And greatly should I have rejoiced if your Reverence had been able to come hither.

Thus far Father Antonio Leal. And as in this inspection of Pimeria by the Father Visitor Francisco Maria Picolo, a letter had come to him from the Marianas Islands with another from Great China, and about those missions, I shall give the news, which they contain, combined in two chapters with the news of these new missions here.

CHAPTER III. LETTERS WHICH ARRIVE AT THE NEW
PIMA MISSIONS FROM THE MARIANAS ISLANDS ¹¹¹
AND GREAT CHINA, AT THE VERY TIME OF
THIS ABOVE-RELATED VISIT OF THE
FATHER VISITOR

Father Antonio Cundari, missionary of the Marianas Islands, on May 9 of the preceding year, 1704, wrote me ¹¹² the following letter:

MY FATHER FRANCISCO MARIA PICOLO, *Pax Christi*: At last, after so many years, I have had the pleasure of seeing the

¹¹¹ The same as the Ladrone Islands. For the early work of the Jesuits there see Le Gobien (Charles), *Histoire des isles Marianes, nouvellement converties à la religion chrestienne; & de la mort glorieuse des premiers*

¹¹² The *me* of the Ms. must be a slip of the pen, for the letter was not written to Kino.

first letter from one of the many beloved fathers of the province of the City of Mexico; and it is your Reverence's, which I received at the passing of the China ship last year, its date October 12, 1700. Great was my pleasure at hearing of your Reverence's good health and the rewards for your labors in that mission, which, it seems, must be a younger daughter of the Marianas missions, judging from the opposition and the difficulties which I with my poor judgment and inexperience met in establishing them. I greatly approve of the time which your Reverence has considered it expedient to delay the baptisms of the adults, in which respect a great mistake was made in those missions, and it caused many doubts and great confusion in removing them. At the same time, we have undeceived ourselves in other respects, having seen the inconstancy of the natives, so ready to leave everything and return to the same condition, particularly when ministers are taken away from them or are lacking. I appreciate the news of the fathers of my acquaintance, with the remembrances of Father Salbatierra and of Captain Don Juan Romero, whose memory is not forgotten here. We were all rejoiced, and we return them most tenderly. I have written your Reverence's remembrances to Father Muscatí, who for some time has been alone in the island of Rotas, ministering to those Islanders. After my fashion I pass the time in good health (I mean good enough for the ministry) with a touch of a disorder which our Lord has sent upon me in my old age, I may say, for I am almost fifty years old, which age I never imagined I should reach, because of gall stones.

Some vessels of the natives with a Spanish commander and some soldiers have probably set out at this hour from the Barra de Agoña,^{112a} to make a cruise to the remote Islands of Gañi, now depopulated, to make a clean sweep with the people, who since then have been known to have hidden or to have returned, and who will probably amount to some three hundred souls. May our Lord prosper the journey.

Last year on Holy Thursday, after the sermon of the *Pasmissionnaires que y ont prêché la foy* (Paris, 1700). Letters dealing with the Jesuits in the Marianas Islands are in Stöcklein, *Der neue Welt-Bott*, Theil i, 98; Theil ii, 1; Theil iii, 1; Theil iv, 1; Theil vii, 3. See also *Lettres Édifiantes*.

^{112a} A village in Guam.

sion, Father Basilio, minister of Umata, died, a person of great gifts, and singularly meritorious in his relations with this mission, and of great virtue. He was succeeded by Father Anttonio de Arias,¹¹³ who, with two other fathers from Mexico, came in the ship for the Philippines; and Father Arias alone remained to supply his place. I heard from the country-folk, also last year, on Corpus Christi day, that the governor having come to inspect the land of Ynsahan, a new church, erected by Father Juan Firmaizen, of excellent timber and well made, was consumed by the fire from a small mortar which was discharged at the Gloria; and that the father barely escaped with the reliquary. The misfortune and the loss were very considerable in these parts, and especially in the present hard times, owing to the tender's¹¹⁴ not having come from Manila for two years in succession, which has caused us many lacks. Captain Romero continues to enjoy learning about the country. The married soldiers now number a hundred, and there will be a colony of half-breeds. A house for the governor is on the point of completion, so large that in time of need it will serve as a fort and a military plaza for everybody, all of wood and *fic*, which is like iron, and the roof of asbestos, that it may not take fire from projectiles.

A church and a house for the fathers are also being constructed of the same material. The cows, which are very gentle, exceed five hundred; there are sufficient oxen for carting, horses, she-goats, etc.; and finally, the burros have multiplied to such an extent that they are being distributed; and I have chanced upon a she-mule, with which I can visit all the eight pueblos which I administer within a short distance, without the old-time pain of going on foot.

In this mission there are ten priests, distributed as follows: in the Island of Ceypan one, another in Rota, and five in as many residences of this Island of Guahan.^{114a} One looks after the college for boys and girls, and after the country district. The Father Vice-provincial, who at present is Father Gerharado Boubens, is now more than seventy years old, but is stronger

¹¹³ Concerning Father Antonio Arias's work in Nayarit, Mexico, at a later date, see Stöcklein, *Der neue Welt-Bott*, Theil viii, 40.

¹¹⁴ *Patache*, a small vessel.

^{114a} Guam.

than all the rest combined. One man, as alcalde, has the immediate command in each district. All are Spaniards, retired from military service, there being no other soldier. The soldiers are all in the capital, the sergeant-major occasionally going out with a few to make a turn through the pueblos. I have written because I have no other occupation, for all are baptized. Help us, your Reverence, to continue advancing them, with your holy sacrifices and prayers, to which I commend myself, praying our Lord to guard your Reverence for me many years. Merizo, May 9, 1704. Your Reverence's humble servant,

ANTONIO CUNDARI.

At this same time also there came to these new missions the letter of Father Vanhame,¹¹⁵ the famous missionary and mathematician of Great China, which he wrote to us, Father Adamo Gilg and the other fathers of his acquaintance. A few years ago, when he was sent by the superiors from these our new American missions of Tharaumares to the Asiatic mission of Great China, he said good-bye by writing me a very fine letter, in which he addressed us, the American fathers, his acquaintances and friends. His Reverence gave us to understand that he had arrived in safety in that great empire of Great China; that, however, the affairs of our holy faith had their difficulties and delays, both on account of discord with the bishops and the ministers of the Propaganda, and because it was necessary to have some gifts, such as pieces of rich fabric, for example, for the mandarins, in order to secure permission to preach our holy Catholic Faith. He informed us also that what he had accomplished with his great toil during all that year, in the space of more than one hundred and sixty leagues of very populous cities, reduced itself to his having converted to our holy Catholic Faith and baptized an old Tartar woman. And with reason the father visitor, Francisco Maria Picolo, made the

¹¹⁵ Father Van Hame. See "Index."

remark that here, by the divine grace, in these new American conversions, in particular when the necessary fathers came, each one will be able to solemnize about a thousand baptisms each year; and therefore I shall insert the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV. COMPARISON OF THESE NEW AMERICAN MISSIONS OF THIS UNKNOWN NORTH AMERICA WITH THE ASIATIC MISSIONS OF THE MARIANAS ISLANDS AND OF GREAT CHINA

Although, as the saying goes, *omnis comparatio est odiosa*,¹¹⁶ my intention here is only to compare some celestial favors over here with those which also our Lord concedes over there, for, as all come from one most divine hand, all are very friendly, and without the least mingling of hatred, or jealousy, or bitterness; and the greatness and glory of so many and so apostolic, heroic, and holy Asiatic missions with so many and glorious martyrs and most sublime triumphs of our Holy Catholic Faith, are always very well known, very undeniable, and very enviable; and to us will remain only the very just and useful command, *Emulamini carismata meliora*,¹¹⁷ and the desire and prayer that also to these extensive new harvests the necessary laborers may come, seeking the fulfillment of the obligation which belongs to us all: *Rogate Dominum messis ut mitat operarios in messem suam*,¹¹⁸ and *quia parvuli petierunt panem et non erat qui frangeret eis*.¹¹⁹

We have then: I. The greater opportunity and

¹¹⁶ "Every comparison is odious."

¹¹⁷ "Be zealous for the better gifts" (1 Cor., xii, 31. *Aemulamini autem charismata meliora*).

¹¹⁸ "Pray ye the Lord of the harvest that he send laborers into His harvest" (Luke, x, 2. *Rogate ergo*, etc.).

¹¹⁹ "Because the little ones have asked for bread and there was none to break it unto them" (Lam., iv, 4).

the greater nearness of these new conquests and new conversions and new American missions of this unknown North America to Europe, to Cadiz, to Seville, Madrid, Paris, and Rome; and they may serve as a port of call on the way to the very great Asiatic missions of the Marianas Islands of Great China, and, when God is willing, to those of Japan and Great Tartary, etc., just as the new conquests and new conversions of New France, being farther eastward, will be able to aid these our more western ones by land, and then the triumphal car of our Holy Catholic Faith will travel with the sun from east to west, until by the divine grace, all the world shall be converted, *Et fiat unum ovile et unus Pastor*,¹²⁰ and we shall say with the royal prophet, pleased, and contented, and happy, *Domine Dominus noster, quam admirabile est nomen tuum in universa terra*,¹²¹ and *Anunciate inter Gentes gloriam eius in omnibus populis mirabilia ejus*. . .¹²²

II. In these new conversions we have many temporal means and conveniences, for, with his celestial favor our Lord is giving us every day with full hands so many provisions, wheat, maize, beans, etc.; lands as fertile for everything as the best of Europe; Indians, industrious, docile, and affable, and now,

III, very friendly, so that the father visitor, Antonio Leal, was accustomed to say, as he wrote me in a letter of his,

We fathers of the Company of Jesus always seek lost souls in all the world; and now that in these new conversions they seek, call, and pray with insistence, it will be a shame if we do not hear them.

¹²⁰ "And let there be one fold and one Shepherd" (*John*, x, 16).

¹²¹ "Lord, our Lord, how admirable is Thy name in all the Earth!" (*Psalms* viii, 1).

¹²² "Declare his glory among the Gentiles, his wonders among all peoples" (*Psalms* xcvi, 3).

IV. It is necessary for the missionary fathers to regale the mandarin in Great China with various gifts and presents in return for permission to preach our Holy Catholic Faith, whereas, as Father Daniel Angel, who was rector, visitor, and missionary of Matape (the commission as provincial which came to him from Rome found him dead) was accustomed to say, when some nations had failed to secure the fathers whom they requested, here they asked him, as they have asked me, how much a father would cost, in order that, as in their simple discourse they put it, with the silver which with their maize and mines they might assemble, they could buy a missionary father, to baptize them and minister to them for their eternal salvation.

V. The Indians of these new American conversions of this North America, because of not having other ministers, are like a blank tablet, or white paper, on which with ease one may write or paint any good thing whatsoever, or imprint the good teaching of our Holy Catholic Faith, whereas the people of Great China and Japan are like a paper already written upon with the evil teaching of their priests, and which, before it is cleansed of blots, usually costs centuries of impossibilities, as we have experienced.

VI. In Japan they have the gates cruelly shut against our holy Catholic Faith, wishing that in order to enter to preach it we should tread under foot a Holy Christ; while in the new conversions here they come to hurl themselves at our gates to ask for the holy faith, and holy baptism, and preachers of the gospel, with all humility and with insistence, traveling for this purpose one hundred, one hundred and fifty, three hundred, and more leagues.

VII. In Great China and Japan with resistance so great for so many years, they have their gates, their

cities, and their houses closed to the preaching of the gospel; while here in the new conquests and new conversions, where I am writing this, even the natives from far in the interior, voluntarily come to call us and to invite us in the most friendly manner, except when we enter to see them in their rancherías, and even while they are still heathen they receive us with all kindness, with crosses placed on the roads, with which they put to flight the devils, and with festive arches, and with dances and singing, and provisions, with the greatest generosity and most singular love and desire to be Christians. I do not claim for this reason that the very evangelical holy Asiatic conversions of Great China of the Marianas Islands, Japan, etc., shall not be carried on with the accustomed holy fervor of the heroes so apostolic of so many centuries, but my desire is and shall be *Haec facere et illa non omitere*.¹²³

CHAPTER V. LETTERS OF THE FATHER VISITOR,
FRANCISCO MARIA PICOLO, FROM OPOSURA AND
MATAPE, WITH NEWS THAT THE FATHER PRO-
VINCIAL JUAN MARIA DE SALVATIERRA GOES
FROM MEXICO TO CALIFORNIA

Father Francisco Maria Picolo, having departed from the inspection of this rectorate, or mission, of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, and having gone on inspecting the mission, or rectorate, of San Francisco Xavier of the Valley of Sonora, and having passed on to the inspection of the mission, or rectorate, of the Holy Martyrs of Japan,¹²⁴ wrote me from Oposura, on July 24, the following letter:

With much pleasure and comfort, as always, I received the very welcome letter from your Reverence with the news of your good health. May our Lord prosper it for your Reverence, according to my desires and according as that blessed Pimeria

¹²³ "To do this and not to omit that."

¹²⁴ Los Santos Martires de Japón.

needs the person and presence and apostolic zeal of my well-beloved Father Kino. Although far from Pimeria, I am there in heart, and O that my necessary occupations would permit me to labor and aid your Reverence in something! The will of the Lord be done, etc.

And when his Reverence arrived afterwards in his holy inspection at the mission, or rectorate, of San Francisco de Borxa, he wrote me the following from Matape on August 29:

I shall rejoice if your Reverence has had a joyful feast of Our Lady of the Assumption, in company with the children from the interior and from the outside. May you be spared for many feasts of the great Lady. God willing, I shall set out from San Joseph de Guaimas after the feast of the Nativity of Mary Most Holy. And, although there is no news from the father provincial, I always hold it for his Reverence in California throughout September. What the father provincial requires of me is a little flour, which our California needs at present. I salute your Reverence's governors and all the children. God grant me grace to return as soon as possible to see them all and your Reverence in perfect health, and may you be so for many long years, etc.

And when his Reverence arrived afterwards at the mission, or rectorate, of our Holy Father San Ygnacio de Hiaqui, from San Joseph de Guaymas, his Reverence, in the postscript of Father Provincial Juan Maria de Salvatierra, writes me these words:

I send this letter of the provincial which he writes me now from California, whither I shall soon go, *Deo Favente*,¹²⁵ to be with his Reverence to give praise.

Thus far the letter of Father Visitor Francisco Maria Picolo. And I sent this year, as every year, thanks be to the Lord, fifteen loads of flour, with other trifles, of what our Lord is pleased to give us in these new Pima conversions; and I place the letter from the father provincial in the following chapter.

¹²⁵ "God willing."

CHAPTER VI. ARRIVAL OF FATHER PROVINCIAL
JUAN MARIA DE SALVATIERRA FROM MEXICO IN
CALIFORNIA, AND A LETTER WHICH HIS
REVERENCE WRITES ME OF THIS EVENT

As soon as the father provincial, Juan Maria de Salvatierra, arrived from Mexico in California, although no one ever heard that another father provincial had so apostolically come to such remote new missions, his Reverence wrote to the fathers that which he imparts to me, with his accustomed very great generosity, in the Italian tongue. He was pleased to write me on August 30 and I received it on September 17, day of the Most Holy Stigmata of the Seraphic San Francisco, great favorite of the most glorious apostle of the Indies, San Francisco Xavier. It is as follows:

I have received all your Reverence's letters; and remember, your Reverence, that *Si Deus pro nobis quis contra nos?*¹²⁶ And in everything, *Al nostro buen Gesù, e no pensi a più. Ama Dio e no fallire, fa pur bene e lacia dire, lacia dire chi dir vuole, fa pur bene di buon cuore.*¹²⁷ I have received the table of contents of the relations of the expeditions which your Reverence has made in these new lands and new nations, as our father general asks it of your Reverence, and it is good. I thank your Reverence for the gift for the poor province. May God recompense your Reverence therefor. This note and letter are for the father visitor, Manuel Pineyro, and the other letters for me. And God will recompense your Reverence for the aid for these poor fathers, whom I should have found dead of hunger and other travails if I had not arrived in person.

Thus far the father provincial, Juan Maria de Salvatierra, who afterwards, with his paternal and great

¹²⁶ "If God be for us, who can be against us?" (*Romans*, viii, 31).

¹²⁷ "Think on our good Jesus and think not of aught else. Love God and do not sin. Do good and let him speak, let him speak who wishes to speak, and do good with ready heart." It is not quite clear whether the Ms. reads *Al nostro buen Gesù* or *Al nostro buen pensi*. I have accepted the former reading.

prudence and his holy zeal, set in order many things, in California as well as in these missions of Sonora and Cinaloa; and more and more aid in the way of provisions and everything kept coming to the fathers of California, so that even Father Geronimo Minutuli, new missionary of the very new mission of San Pedro y San Pablo, sent his loads of wheat and flour from here to Hiaqui for California. But, although there were a few persons concerned in this matter, others were less interested in this pious succor of California, yet our Lord with his very great loving kindness never allowed what was necessary to fail. At this same time, on August 15, the father rector of the mission of Our Holy Father Ygnacio de Hyaqui, wrote me the following letter:

I have received the fifteen loads of wheat, for which I thank your Reverence beyond measure; and I can say with truth that it is through your Reverence that I eat bread this year. May our Lord be your recompense, etc.

CHAPTER VII. LETTERS FROM THE VERY REVEREND FATHER KNIGHT COMMANDER, FRAY NICOLAS BERNARDO DE RAMOS, FATHER RECTOR PEDRO YGNACIO DE LOYOLA, AND CAPTAIN DON MIGUEL DE TURIZES Y CANO, WHICH, WRITTEN IN DIFFERENT PLACES, ARRIVE AT THE SAME TIME IN SUPPORT OF THESE NEW CONVERSIONS

The Very Reverend Father Fray Nicolas Bernardo de Ramos, knight-commander of his holy convent of Teocoaltichi, of the Sacred Order of Nuestra Señora de la Merced, Redemption of Captives, on the twenty-fifth of July of this year, 1705, wrote me the following letter:

I have received with due appreciation your Reverence's letter which Fray Francisco Ruiz de Belmar ¹²⁸ brought, its date May

¹²⁸ Concerning Fray Ruíz de Belmar see volume i, 109; volume ii, 76-77.

30, 1704, and I rejoice heartily at your good health. May our Lord prosper it for many years. It brings comfort in regard to all your children in that mission, and the increase of Christianity in those extensive parts and nations, for it has been very pleasing to me to see the desires which they manifest (as your Reverence tells me) to receive holy baptism, and the need there is of laborers in proportion to the great harvest. May our Lord move the hearts of the superiors to make provision in a matter and business of so great importance, for which I, although sinful, will pray and clamor to His Divine Majesty, as is my duty, and the fathers of this your convent will do the same, for it is in this that we can aid your Reverence and your good desires; O that God may hear us!

I am very grateful for your Reverence's favors, the bezoar and the mule, but I am very much ashamed that without my having deserved it or served you you treat me so liberally. These favors remain deeply imprinted upon my memory and I shall serve you, and so in the little which my poor person may avail, I shall greatly appreciate your Reverence's setting me to work with the frankness of father to son, and you shall be obeyed with the exactitude which my great obligation requires, for thus your Reverence honors so greatly my religion. For there is no religious who goes to those districts that does not experience it; even we who live far away also experience it; and for the honors which your Reverence does Fray Francisco Ruiz de Belmar I must return you due thanks, etc.

Thus far Father Knight Commander Fray Nicolas Bernardo de Ramos, asking that I baptize him many Bernardos. Father Rector Pedro Ygnacio de Loyola, master of our novices in the City of Mexico, on September 21 wrote me the following letter:

Your Reverence, having a father provincial all Pima and all missionary, will, no doubt, secure whatsoever you may desire for the great good of those your beloved missions. I received a letter from your Reverence at Easter, but I have not seen the other to which your Reverence refers; neither have I ever seen the index, or compendium, of the Relation; but *quid quid sit*.¹²⁹

¹²⁹ "Whatever is is right."

Let me say, Father, that with all truth your Reverence will have me at your service, although, as I have said, Father Juan Maria de Salvatierra being provincial, little intervention will be necessary now; for our Reverence's zeal, so well known, being combined with such detailed reports of those nations, all the missionary fathers may promise themselves happy success in all their affairs, etc.

Thus far the Father Rector Ygnacio de Loyola. The captain, advocate, and licentiate, D. Miguel de Turices y Cano, who was sent by the Señor viceroy of this New Spain from Mexico on business of this province of Sonora, from the Real de San Juan Bautista on September 30 wrote me the following letter:

Before entering this *real*, and while many leagues from it, I learned how much your Reverence has labored and labors in seeking souls for the Lord, and the good which your pious and Christian zeal is accomplishing; and I hope in God that He will long spare you that you may see all those poor dear creatures reduced to our holy Catholic Faith. And so I said that nothing more was necessary than a hint and, in so far as I may be of use, I would serve your Reverence in what you might command me. And as soon as our Lord permits me, I shall report at Mexico to the superiors in regard to your Reverence, with great emphasis, and in particular to his Excellency, who, I should think, will listen to me, and will rejoice in the docility of these poor creatures, and at the fact that they clamor to receive holy baptism. And your Reverence may be assured that the letters which have been written have not been given to his Excellency, nor has the notice come to him; for since his royal Majesty charges in repeated laws the propagation of our holy Faith among these heathen for the extirpation of their infidelity, I doubt not he by now would have been ready with the aid so insisted upon and so desired by your Reverence. But I hope in God that it will be granted very shortly, for I shall inform his Excellency of everything with great detail, and to him, if it shall be necessary, I shall show your Reverence's letter. Besides this, I shall tell what I have seen personally. And since some reports current in Mexico are contrary to what your Reverence

says in your letter, when it is seen by his Excellency from the report which I shall make to him, I think that God will grant that what your Reverence so much desires shall be accomplished. And I pray His Divine Majesty to let me place myself at your Reverence's feet, etc.

Thus far Captain Don Miguel Turices y Cano.

Besides the three above mentioned letters which came at this same time from the outside, here in this same rectorate Father Rector Melchor de Bartiromo wrote me in this month of September the following:

I have already requested fathers for these new conversions, and now I shall again ask them, with all assiduity and emphasis, and I shall write in favor of our Pima children, as an eye-witness of the fact that they have come to ask fathers, etc.

Thus the father rector.

CHAPTER VIII. LETTER WHICH THE FATHER PROVINCIAL, JUAN MARIA DE SALVATIERRA, WRITES ME AT HIS DEPARTURE FROM CALIFORNIA ON HIS RETURN TO MEXICO

When the very grave affairs of the province of New Spain called the father provincial, Juan Maria de Salvatierra, from California to Mexico, his Reverence wrote me from Nuestra Señora de Loreto Conchó on October 15 the following letter:

Your Reverence's two letters, one of the first and the other of the nineteenth of September, I have received with much pleasure and comfort in this Real de Loreto, and greater pleasure has been given me by the reports which the visitor, Francisco Maria Pico, made me, of the good state of these missions of the Pimeria, of the labors which have been and are being performed therein, and of the harmony and charity with which at present the fathers thereof deal one with another. For this I have given thanks, hoping now that each day we may make progress, because, all being united in God for one and the same end, one can better advance the service of God and the welfare of souls. And, moreover, finding these so disposed as your Reverence signifies to me in both letters, I give thanks to

God and to the indefatigable application and zeal of your Reverence, which extends to the spiritual and the temporal, as well for the welfare of those poor creatures as for the aid of the Californias. These now have fathers as far as the places which they call Las Virgenes, thus drawing each day nearer on the north, whereby in part can be facilitated what your Reverence so greatly has desired, and I at present, of continuing along that route the journey to the Rio de la Azencion.

In future, as circumstances may offer, your Reverence may communicate with the father visitor, who, as one who keeps in mind all the present circumstances and those which may arise, will give the necessary counsel. I thank your Reverence for the flour which your Reverence sends here, and for the coöperation which Father Rector Melchor de Bartiromo has lent in this region, for whom I desire all happiness and relief. The fathers over here, who recognize your Reverence as their benefactor and apostolic model in your indefatigable labors, salute your Reverence. I am now on the point of setting out for Mexico, where, according to the mood in which I find the Señor viceroy, I shall treat of the promotion of these new conversions, because with these wars and the suspension of news from Spain he usually has his difficulties. I desire nothing else than the progress, in the undertaking so noble and profitable, of these new conversions, etc.

Thus far Father Provincial Juan Maria de Salvatierra.

CHAPTER IX. LAST LETTERS WHICH AT THE END OF THIS YEAR 1705 FOUR DIFFERENT PERSONS WRITE ME, WITH NEWS OF AFFAIRS OF CALIFORNIA AND OF THIS SIDE

The father rector of Matape, Marcos Anttonio Capus, on October 4 and 21 wrote me the following:

Our father provincial, Juan Maria de Salvatierra, is probably now on his way to Mexico, having embarked for Matanchel, as we are told by Father Rector Adamo Gilg who has just come from California; and Father Visitor Francisco Maria Picolo remains now in Beleem, of Hyaqui, whence he will pass

to Tepague, and by way of Movas and Onabas will come to Matape, to equip himself to continue the inspection of the east. Brother Jaime Bravo, whom the deceased father visitor-general, Manuel Pineyro, brought from Spain, and whom the father provincial took to California, remains there looking after the temporal matters. Two Californian boys died of smallpox in Mexico, under the care of the father provincial. Captain Juan Bautista de Escalante will return to these regions, because the former captain of California, Estevan Rodrigues, came with the father provincial, confirmed by his Excellency, etc.

NOVEMBER 13. Thus far the father vice-rector, Marcos Antonio Kappus. Father Geronimo Minutili, from his new mission of San Pedro y San Pablo del Tubutama, on November 13 wrote me the following:

I am very grateful to your Reverence for the great generosity which your Reverence shows me each day; may God recompense your Reverence therefor once and a thousand times. Now, only thirty-eight of the forty head of cattle which were sent have arrived, because two remained on the road, one exhausted and the other having fled. I have received the baize which the *caporal* brought to buy maize for the building of the church, and the other cloth for the other *fanegas*, which have been bought, and are being consumed by those who are making adobes. I thank your Reverence heartily for everything, as also for the *guazinques*, or carpenters, who are now cutting the timbers. One of them has charge of the hauling and another is going to bring the other carpenter's tools, which they lack. Also, I am very grateful for the coming of your Reverence's alcalde, who is overseer of the adobes. I pray that your Reverence will come as soon as possible. The case is urgent, for I am expecting many people from the rancherías near by to make many adobes, etc. And I pray your Reverence to please let me know what number we must provide, and that you may come in person, which I greatly desire, so that through your presence and authority and the love which the children have for you the work may proceed with zeal.

NOVEMBER 18. Thus far Father Geronimo. Father Antonio on November 18 wrote me the following:

I owe your Reverence thanks for many things; first and principally for the very great charity which your Reverence is bestowing upon Father Geronimo. It can not be denied that well says the prayer of San Geronimo and of Heronimus, son of Eusebius.¹³⁰ Regarding both laborers and cattle, provisions, clothing, etc., and for your personal work in his aid, your works, your practical charity, may God recompense your Reverence, etc.

Thus far Father Antonio Leal. The captain and advocate, Don Miguel de Torizes y Cano, on December 4 asked me for a map of these new nations in order to report to Mexico in favor of these new conversions, in order that the laborers so necessary may be sent to us. In view of that and other reports some were sent to us, but always with the accustomed contradictions, and at times with the dearth of missionaries, we have kept on asking and supplicating *Dominum messis, ut mitat operarios in messem suam*¹³¹ that our Lord may be pleased, when it is most expedient, to aid us with the laborers necessary for the total conversion of all this North America and of all the universe.

¹³⁰ *Heussebi filius.*

¹³¹ "Supplicating the Lord of the harvest that he send laborers into His field" (Luke, x, 2. *Rogate ergo Dominum messis ut mittat operarios in messem suam*).

BOOK III. NEW CONQUESTS AND NEW
CONVERSIONS OF THE YEAR 1706, IN
PARTICULAR THROUGH TWO EXPEDI-
TIONS, OR MISSIONS, TO THE COASTS
OF THE SEA OF CALIFORNIA

CHAPTER I. A VERY RECENT LETTER FROM THE
FATHER VISITOR, FRANCISCO MARIA PICOLO,
WHICH, WITH ANOTHER SOMEWHAT EARLIER
FROM OUR FATHER GENERAL, THYRSO
GONZALES, INSPIRES US TO PERSEVERE
IN THESE NEW CONVERSIONS

On January 19 of this year 1706, the father visitor, Francisco Maria Picolo, wrote me from Batuco the following letter:

I have received two most pleasing letters from your Reverence, with appreciation and pleasure, as always. May our Lord grant your Reverence perfect health, and that you may be on the eve of the fulfillment of your great and apostolic desires. I should like to serve your Reverence with a muleteer on your apostolic journeys, as I hope they will be, leaving that happy and very glorious Pimeria well provided with apostolic men, like those who at present work in that vineyard of the Lord. And, those missions being the gateway to nations and peoples so extensive, it is necessary, my best beloved Father Eusebio, to put all our care upon them, and afterwards, God giving us life, to pass on, and die toiling for God and the welfare of those souls, whom I love more than myself. I heartily salute all your Reverence's children, and I would personally shed all my blood for them and for those poor heathen who live so far distant. But your Reverence will see them and they will come to see your Reverence and ask of you holy baptism. Although I realize and confess that His Divine Majesty is not

pleased with my labors nor with my blood, so ill have I fulfilled and now fulfill my vocation, God grant me His grace that apostolic missionaries may come and that they may do what I, although useless, desire and have desired to do. May Mary Most Holy recompense your Reverence for your generosity and care in helping the poor fathers of California, all of whom salute your Reverence, and are very grateful to you. From Santa Maria de Bazeraca I would fain return to those glorious missions of the Pimeria, yet I do not know whether I can do so or not.

Thus far the father visitor, Francisco Maria Picolo. And just at the time when I am writing this Book III of this Part IV of the *Celestial Favors*, almost by chance I come upon the holy letter of our father general, Thyrso Gonzales, which, although somewhat old, gives us all very singular stimulus for a thousand good things. It being dated in Rome, December 27, 1698, is of the following tenor:

I have received a letter from your Reverence dated June 3, 1697, with the extraordinary pleasure with which I always receive and read your letters, always full of matters for rejoicing, because our Lord coöperates in your labors for the extension of our holy faith among those Pimas, as is seen in the seven churches which are being built for the missions or pueblos which had newly been formed and assembled in the faith. Blessed be God that He thus bestows His blessing upon your Reverence's labors. Although your Reverence was ready to go to the Californias with Father Juan Maria de Salbatierra, yet by later letters which I have from Mexico I have learned that it has not been possible for your Reverence to go now to the Californias, because your Reverence's presence has been adjudged necessary to pacify the revolted nations near by and to see to it that some of the Pimas, as recent converts, do not follow the bad example of the others. I hope that all will have been pacified and that your Reverence will have had an opportunity of following the footsteps of Father Salbatierra. I grant your Reverence the license which you ask, to spend six months of the twelve in the year in the Californias and the other six among the Pimas, be-

cause it seems to me very expedient for the conservation and promotion of both missions that you do so; and I am writing to Father Visitor Juan Maria de Salbatierra that your Reverence may do whatever you may judge best for the stable conservation of that mission of the Californias, because from the prudence and experience of you both I am sure you will most certainly provide what is most expedient.

The map of that country of the Pimas where the servant of God, Father Francisco Xabier de Saetta, was murdered by the heathen, which your Reverence sent me with this letter, has arrived, but the eulogy, or life, which your Reverence composed ¹³² has not come, nor the deeds, etc. The reason plainly is that the coming of Brother Simon de Castro to Spain having been countermanded, it was necessary that a little box should go back from Bera Cruz to Mexico. I hope that they will send everything on the first occasion. The map shall be taken care of so that if the life is printed, the map may be also.

Your Reverence says that three of the principal caciques or petty kings, captains of the Pimas, were offering to send some alms for the sepulcher of our Father San Ygnazio; and I know not what to say, save that Father Kino thinks on all good, and that he has his holy Father very much at heart. Know, your Reverence, for your comfort, that the altar and sepulcher of our Holy Father is advancing well, and will be as splendid as anything of the sort in Rome. The cost is very great, the sum already expended exceeding a hundred thousand crowns. I send your Reverence the sketch and the description of what it contains, etc.

Thus far the letter of our Father General Thirzo Gonzales, who has always encouraged us greatly in these new conversions. And with these two letters, to which this chapter refers, we were animated, Father Geronimo and I, to the journey, or mission, which we made, of more than a hundred leagues to the southwest or between south and west, to the new land of the coast of the Sea of California, as I shall relate in the following chapters.

¹³² For a reference to this work see volume i, 130.

CHAPTER II. EXPEDITION OR MISSION OF MORE
THAN A HUNDRED LEAGUES TO THE NEW HEA-
THENDOM OF THE SOUTHWEST,¹³³ OF THE SEA
OF CALIFORNIA, AND THE JOURNEY OF
FATHER DOMINGO CRESCOLI TO HIS
NEW MISSION OF LA CONZEPCION

On the occasion when the superiors sent us Father Domingo Crescoli, who was assigned to the new mission of Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion del Caborca, and father provincial, Juan Maria de Salbatierra, appointed me procurator of these new missions of this Pimeria, in the middle of January, on going to place this new laborer in his new mission, passing by the mission of San Ygnazio, where Father Agustin de Canpuz is, we passed also by the mission of San Pedro y San Pablo del Tibutama, where Father Geronimo Minutili was, and who many days before had desired to make with me a mission, or expedition, to the new heathen and new lands farther in the interior.

On this occasion we both went down twenty-two leagues with Father Domingo Crescoli to leave him in his new mission of Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion del Caborca, where we were welcomed with all pleasure on the part of the more than a thousand Indians, as well as on ours. They were waiting with arches and crosses placed along the roads, and had ready a house in which to live, a church which the venerable servant of God, Father Francisco Xabier de Saetta had built, with foundations and walls of the sanctuary, the altar of a great and very capacious church, with the good

¹³³ Ortega describes this journey in *Apostólicos Afanes* on page 320. See Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i, 501, where he says that Kino "was perhaps half way between Libertad and Tepoca, though he called the latitude 31°." A hundred leagues would have taken Kino to Guaymas, which he did not reach. From the description of the island it might be Tiburon. He was among the Seris, of which the Tepocas were a branch.

and large hall, store room, bakery, oven, kitchen, beginnings of a garden, with maize ready for harvest, a good field of wheat sown and sprouted, and also cattle, sheep and goats, saddle-horses, droves of mares, etc. We solemnized many baptisms of little ones and adults, etc.

Having delivered this new mission to Father Domingo Crescoli, Father Geronimo and I undertook another mission, to the part and district and heathendom which appeared to us the newest and most needy, and whither as yet no white man, perhaps, had ever entered. Having sent friendly Christian messages and guides in advance, on January 19 we also set out with our servants to the southwest, or between south and west, Father Geronimo and I, and, travelling more than a hundred leagues over many level plains, peopled with many heathen Pimas in the neighborhood of the other heathen, we arrived at the very Sea of California, and even caught sight of the mountains of California. On this journey or mission we found more than fifteen hundred Indians, very affable and gentle; for many of them had in these preceding years come to us at Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion del Caborca, and some had come even to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. Everywhere they received us with all friendliness, in many places with crosses and arches placed along the roads and with little houses provided in which to live and say mass with decency. And we having in all parts preached the principal mysteries of our Holy Faith, they promised us what we counseled and asked of them, namely, that inasmuch as these coasts were somewhat sterile, they should go to live in the very fertile and very convenient fields of Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion, since now we had brought them a father mis-

sionary. They gave us many infants and some sick adults to baptize. And as, even without this, most of these natives, called by the justices of La Concepcion de Caborca, had come to the tasks of sowing, harvesting, and building at La Concepcion, they agreed that little by little they would join themselves completely to said settlement, or mission, of Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion.

CHAPTER III. DISCOVERY OF THE NEW ISLAND OF SANTA YNES, AND OF THE NEW CAPE OF SAN VIZENTE, ON THE GULF OF THE SEA OF CALIFORNIA, IN LATITUDE THIRTY-ONE DEGREES NORTH

Father Geronimo Minutili, having labored with much fervor in this expedition, afterward gave an account of our mission, or journey, to the fathers of California. God granted that jointly we should discover in this latitude thirty-one in this Gulf of the Sea of California a great island, which must be about three leagues in width from east to west, and about seven or eight leagues in length from north to south, and no more than about six or seven leagues from this our terra firma, or coast. Because we discovered this new island on the twenty-first of January, we named it the Island of Santa Ynes.¹³⁴

To the northwest of this island of Santa Ynes about three leagues we very plainly discovered, on the next day, January 22, from a slight elevation, another large piece of land, apparently a part of California. Although we were in some doubt whether it was also an island or land contiguous and continuous, or mainland, with California itself, we concluded that it must

¹³⁴ Apparently Tiburon Island. To this day a bay and a point on the coast near this island bear the name of Kino.

be that part of California which, as Captain Francisco de Ortega states in one of his relations, extends in these places very far toward the east and toward these coasts of New Spain. We saw that it was no more than nine or ten leagues from us. What we knew to be very certain from all the surrounding natives, now, in this journey, as well as on many other occasions when we have inquired of these Pimas and maritime Zeris, with repeated and minute examinations of this Gulf of California, was and is that all this point and its environs are very thickly settled with many people, for by night fires are continually seen from this side, and by day their smoke. As we discovered this point, so near by, on January 21, day of the Glorious San Vizente, we named it the Point or Cape of San Vizente, with apologies to the inhabitants and owners and commanders of San Bizente in Europe.

On this coast of the Sea of California the spring was now beginning, after its fashion, for many of those plains were beginning to grow green and blossom. There were many birds which lived on the very many fish with which this coast very greatly abounds. There was much medicinal *jojoba*, which is like the almond, and a very salutary and effective remedy for different kinds of sickness, and is in demand as far as Mexico, Pueblo, Parral, New Mexico, etc. On this coast it usually bears all the year, and in fact we found it on this occasion, for on some shrubs it was now ripe, on others still somewhat tender, and on others¹³⁵. . . [We returned with] all prosperity, thanks be to the Lord, to the new mission of Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion del Caborca, where with all kindness Father Domingo Crescoli received us, with all his children. We solemnized some baptisms and marriages.

¹³⁵ An omission occurs in the transcript at this point.

CHAPTER IV. MY RETURN TO NUESTRA SEÑORA DE
LOS DOLORES, AND A LETTER WHICH THE FATHER
VISITOR, FRANCISCO MARIA PICOLO, WRITES
ME IN REGARD TO THE FINDING OF THE
NEW ISLAND OF SANTA YNES

Having left Father Domingo Crescoli to all appearances well content at his new mission of La Concepcion del Caborca, all the children also being greatly pleased, we came to San Pedro y San Pablo del Tibutama, Father Geronimo and I. Afterward, passing by the district, or mission, of Father Agustin de Canpuz, I arrived with my servants, thanks to the Lord, with good fortune, at this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. Finding letters from different persons, I answered them, giving some account of my absence from this house and of our journey to La Concepcion and to the Sea of California, and the father visitor, Francisco Maria Picolo, wrote me the following letter from Bacadeguych on February 17:

They are calling me to mass and to give ashes to the children of this pueblo of Bacadeguych, and, the function over, I shall set out, God willing, for Saguaripa.¹³⁶ I rejoice that your Reverence has been the companion of Father Domingo Crescoli, and that you have left him well and sound in his new mission. Your Reverence is procurator not only of the Pimeria, but of the whole country, and the comfort of the souls and of the fathers. God grant me of His grace to see and enjoy the fruit of your apostolic toils, although it be in passing, as I expect. As soon as possible I shall write to Father Xavier de Mora, that he may extend his charity to Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion del Caborca, so that in every respect Father Crescoli may be relieved. I rejoice at the finding of the new Island of Santa Ynez, but in regard to this point I shall write to your Reverence hastily, because now I am ready to set out, and I do not wish to delay the courier. God willing we shall see the father of this district and speak to him and arrange for what can be done, etc.

¹³⁶ In the Yaqui River Valley. This was the native town which destroyed Coronado's settlement of San Gerónimo.

Thus far Father Visitor Francisco Maria Picolo. Father Horacio Polize, who has always been most interested in these new discoveries and new conversions, wrote me from Baseraca on February 21 that the father visitor, with great pleasure to himself, had been with his Reverence for the space of ten days. All those who look with favor upon the new conquests and new conversions of this Pimeria as well as of California have considered it very fortunate that this point of San Vizente should be so very close and this island of Santa Ynes in this convenient half-way latitude of thirty-one degrees, to promote the communication, which, God willing, in His time can be opened in California between the fathers who actually live in the Real and in the missions of Nuestra Señora de Loreto Concho, in the latitude of twenty-six and twenty-seven degrees, and the fathers who, by the Divine Grace, also in His time, will be able to live in the land passage to California, and in the very populous missions which can be had on the very populous and large volumed Rio Colorado, which will be in thirty-five and thirty-six degrees of latitude, where there is also a land passage to the opposite coast and the South Sea, and where every year the ship from China and galleon from the Philippines is accustomed to pass, coming to the port of Acapulco of this new Spain, and from Asia to this America.

CHAPTER V. LENTEN MISSION OF MORE THAN
FIFTY LEAGUES TO THE NORTHWEST AND TO THE
WEST, FROM FEBRUARY 27 TO MARCH 20, 1706,
PENETRATING TO SAN AMBROSSIO DEL BU-
SANIC, TO EL TIBUTAMA, AND TO NUES-
TRA SEÑORA DE LA CONCEPCION
DEL CABORCA¹³⁷

After having given ashes and confessed the greater part of the people of this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, on the twenty-seventh of February I set out with my servants to go to give ashes to and confess the people of the interior. I went first to the other pueblos of my administration, to Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, and to Santiago de Cocospera; and while during these three days I gave the children the accustomed instruction in the Christian doctrine, heard some confessions and performed some baptisms, my servants planted in each pueblo a good garden of quinces, pomegranates, fig trees, peaches, grape-vines for wine for masses, and many kinds of garden stuff, in all of which the garden of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores greatly abounds.

MARCH 2. On the second of March I went down, summoned by Father Agustin de Canpos, to Santa Maria Magdalena, fifteen leagues distant, and viewed the timbers and arches of the¹³⁸. . .

4th. On the fourth I arrived at the ranch of San Simon y San Judas Tadeo del Siboda, fourteen leagues' journey.

5th. On the fifth I gave ashes to about thirty persons in the little new church, and after mass there was a discourse and Christian instruction and explanation of

¹³⁷ This journey is given brief mention by Ortega, *Apostólicos Añales*, 321.

¹³⁸ Two lines here can not be read as they have been cut off in the original.

the holy function of the ashes and of lenten confession. There were several confessions by people here and by various outsiders, for some had come from San Ambrosio del Busanic and from San Xavier del Bac.

6th. On the sixth, after sixteen leagues' journey, we arrived at San Ambrosio del Busanic, despatching from El Aquimuri to Santa Gertrudis del Saric the drove of twenty mares, with their jack and burro, which were being taken to Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion for California. We arrived at midnight, in order not to fail to say the mass the following day, the third Sunday of Lent, to the children in their little church; for we had notified them before hand that I would give ashes and hear confessions of holy Lent.

7th. On the seventh ashes were given, there were a discourse and confessions by the Christian people, and, as I took with me the *guaciques*, or carpenters, from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, there was some building on the church, which I shall tell of in the following chapter. In the afternoon we passed on to Santa Gertrudes del Saric, three leagues distant, for the same Lenten functions, etc.

8th. On March 8 there were ashes, mass, a discourse, confessions, and twenty-seven baptisms, of infants and three sick people, and ten marriages according to the forms of the church. In the afternoon I went on to the pueblo of San Pedro y San Pablo del Tubutama, ten leagues' journey, where I found Father Geronimo Minutuli, who, with his accustomed great charity welcomed us with all kindness; and, I having told him that I came with my *guasiques* to build on this new church and to go on to Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion del Caborca, his Reverence said to me that he would go on with me to aid in the confessions, etc.

9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th. On the ninth and tenth we built on the new church. On the eleventh, setting out at midday, after a seven leagues' journey, passing by the new pueblo of Santa Thereza, we arrived at San Antonio del Uquitoa; and on the twelfth, passing by the new incipient pueblo of San Diego del Pitquin, we arrived at Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion, where the very courteous children received us very affectionately.

On the thirteenth we gave ashes to the people and heard many confessions. We inspected the building and garden with which in the preceding expedition we had charged these children; and insomuch as on the twelfth of this month many letters had come to me, and among them one from Father Visitor Francisco Maria Picolo, saying that his Reverence would shortly come to this Pimeria, as he said, to give thanks for the discovery and finding of the new island of Santa Ynes, and of the new cape of San Visente in the Gulf of the Sea of California, I arranged to return quickly to this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. And on the fourteenth, having preached with much fervor to the children of La Concepcion and said her mass for them, passing on to say it for those of San Diego del Pitquin, in the afternoon we all went on to San Antonio del Uquitoa and afterward to San Pedro y San Pablo del Tubutama, to Santa Maria Magdalena, and to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores.

CHAPTER VI. BY THIS MISSION OR JOURNEY THE
BUILDING OF SIX NEW CHURCHES IS ADVANCED AT
THE SAME TIME; AND A RARE EXAMPLE OF THE
RIPENESS OF THE HARVEST OF SOULS, EVEN
AMONG THE DISTANT QUIQUIMAS OF
CALIFORNIA ALTA

At this same time, in this nearer Pimeria, we had in hand the building of the churches of Father Agustin de Campos's pueblo of Santa Maria Magdalena, and of San Ambrosio del Busanic, Santa Gertrudis del Saric, San Pedro y San Pablo de Tibutama, San Diego del Pitquin, Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion del Cavorca, and others. Through the mission set forth in the preceding chapter it was attempted to advance the building of these six; and to this end I took with me the *guasiques*, or carpenters, now somewhat expert, of this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores; and so on March 2, and on my return after the month of March, I was in Santa Maria Magdalena, seeing to the cutting and squaring of the timbers for the building and the arches of the sanctuary of the very good church which Father Agustin de Campos was building.

On March 7, as they already had in San Ambrosio del Busanic a good supply of adobes and some timbers, we raised the walls of a good, capacious church. We wrought and placed on the doors of the church and of the sacristy and of the baptistry the entablatures of very good timbers, and arranged that they should continue on the building of the church of San Ambrosio del Busanic, and on the neighboring one of Santa Gertrudis del Saric, since for both there were crops of maize, and cattle, and sheep and goats, and whatever else was necessary.

On the ninth, tenth, and eleventh of March on the journey or mission to Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion

del Caborca, and afterwards on the return, we also built on the new church of San Pedro y San Pablo del Tubutama, laying the foundations of a good sacristy and of the baptistry, and of a good, capacious hall, as well as raising the walls of the same church, and especially of the sanctuary, and cutting and working the timbers, brackets, beams, and arches, or lintels, etc. Also, we looked after the very good garden of Castilian fruit trees, vines for wine for masses, and all kinds of garden-stuff, etc.

On the thirteenth and fourteenth of March, and before and after, we worked on the church of Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion del Cavorca, laying the foundations of its buildings and raising their walls and those of the sanctuary, and on the church of San Diego del Pitquin. And at the time when, on the seventh of March, we were working on the church of San Ambrosio del Busanic a very rare thing happened to me, from which may be inferred the great ripeness of the very extensive harvests of the very many souls that the celestial favors of our Lord are continually giving us with full hands. It was that the captain of this incipient pueblo of San Ambrosio del Busanic, called Don Marcos, whom Father Visitor Oracio Police baptised at the time of his holy visit, as has been set forth in its place, gave me a scalp which the captain of the Quiquima nation of the land passage to California, or to California Alta itself, had just sent me. This scalp was one of the other neighboring nation, Noabonoma,¹³⁹ and was that of a priest, or *ponze*,^{139a} of theirs, and the only one who opposed himself to the good Christian teachings which we had taken to these new nations in

¹³⁹ See *Hoabonoma*. Ortega spells it *Abobonoma* (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 321).

^{139a} *Bonze*, a Buddhist priest.

our journeys, and therefore the captain of this extensive Quiquima nation had killed him as malevolent and a sower of darnel. With this and with other gifts of blue shells from the opposite coast, etc., he sent to tell me that we could well go to baptize all those people, for now there was none that would try to oppose us, since they had killed the only man who made opposition, and that as a sign they were sending his scalp.

CHAPTER VII. SOME DEPREDACTIONS WHICH HOSTILE APACHES COMMIT IN THIS PROVINCE OF SONORA, BUT WITHOUT HINDERING THE QUIET, AND, THANKS BE TO THE LORD, THE VERY PACIFIC AND GOOD PROGRESS OF THESE NEW CONVERSIONS

General Juan Matheo Manje, who a short time before had been alcalde mayor of all this province of Sonora, on the twenty-seventh of March wrote me from the Real de Bacanuchi the following letter:

I am writing to inform your Reverence that yesterday at sunset many hostile Apaches made an attack on the house of Juan de Baldes, which is two leagues down the river from here. They killed an Indian, Ysidro, of Arispe, and shot the *pardo* Blas, who was a servant of Captain Peralta, and if it had not been for Miguel Bernal, who had an arquebus, all the people of the house would have perished. They took all the horses, and the same day they carried off the drove of horses of Baso Chuca and Monte Grande. At the same time they attacked the corral of Arispe; all the arrows that they shot, which were more than two hundred, are those of Apaches and Jocomes. I wish that your Reverence might advise and incite the Pima rancherías to overtake them and take away from them these droves of horses, for we are without horses and isolated. God defend us and guard your Reverence; there is no help; the land is lost; we now wish to abandon it, etc.

On the twenty-fifth of April the said General Juan Matheo Manje wrote me the following:

The nineteenth day of last month the enemy killed two

Christian Indians here near Bacanuche, and on the twenty-second of the month day dawned with the house of Captain Peralta, of Basochuca, surrounded by enemies, whence they carried off eighteen horses. On the twenty-fourth near Cumupas they shot two Indians of the pueblo, whence they carried off a number of horses. On the twenty-sixth they made an attack on the house of Baldes; in this valley we have just buried the *pardo* Blas, etc.; and there is no help, for they only report, but falsely, that all is at peace, etc.

Thus far General Juan Matheo Manje. And it is a fact that at this very same time, at the end of March, in Holy Week, they came to make attack even upon this wheat and the fields of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, but as these Pima children saw it, as soon as they gave a cry as if calling their people, the three hostile Apaches took flight in such fear that they dropped everything they had and were carrying. One threw away even the quiver for his arrows, and his bow, and the boots or shoes which the Apaches use, and the tail of a beef which they had killed. As the bow which one of them threw away was of medium size, Father Agustin Campos, when told of this visit of the Apaches, wrote that this little Apache must be still a novice.

And so it is that the common sorrow of all the province is that for so many years it has not been helped nor freed from so many and continued invasions, robberies, and murders by so many hostile Hocomes, Apaches, and Xanos, etc. It is true, however, meanwhile, in these new conquests and conversions, that in the midst of the many contradictions and such opposition on the part of the natives of more than two hundred leagues of new lands and new nations, His Divine Majesty is pleased, with his most merciful and paternal providence, to conserve us in the utmost peace and quietude with continual new discoveries of more new peoples and nations, who each day with more fervor are desir-

ing and asking our Holy Catholic faith and father ministers and holy baptism. And many baptisms are being solemnized, and new churches and very good settlements of new Christians, with new progress in spiritual and temporal matters, are being made, lacking nothing but the necessary father ministers, whom, however, thanks be to His Divine Majesty, the higher superiors promise us now, and whom the loving providence of our Lord will give us when it is best.

CHAPTER VIII. TWO MISSIONS OR EXPEDITIONS TO THE NORTH, AFTER EASTER AND AFTER THE MIDDLE OF APRIL, FOR CONFESSIONS, BAPTISMS, AND MARRIAGES, AND TO BEGIN WORK UPON THE HOUSES AND LITTLE CHURCHES OF SANTA MARIA BUGOTA AND SAN LAZARO ¹⁴⁰

Having held Holy Week and Easter here with a great concourse of Spaniards and of natives from the interior, among whom, on Holy Saturday, April 3, the captain of San Xavier del Bac came with three other captains, sixty leagues' journey, I made a mission, or expedition, to the north, setting out from here on April 7, and taking with me the captain of the pueblo and the governor of Nuestra Señora de Los Remedios, a *temastian*, three *quasiques*, or carpenters, and three other servants. I entered by way of Los Remedios, Cocospera, and San Lazaro, to Santa Maria Bugota; and having in all places heard confessions and instructed the catechumens, and solemnized the baptisms and marriages that offered, we began work at the same time on the house of Santa Maria Bugota, which is in a very pleasant valley, and on that of San Lazaro, in Santa Maria, ^{140a} which is about twenty-two leagues distant from here.

¹⁴⁰ This chapter is briefly summarized by Ortega, *ibid.*, 321-322.

^{140a} He means, evidently, in the valley of the Santa María [Santa Cruz] River.

We laid the foundations of a good, capacious hall and of two good lodges, and we began to raise their walls, for already some little storerooms had been made, with a little hall; and the foundations were also already made of a good and large church, with its transept, for which the *quasinques* cut twenty pine beams and forty oak brackets, and other wall timbers for the house; and an order was left that they should continue making adobes and building and finishing the capacious hall, that it might serve as a little church in which to say mass with decency while the great church was being built. And also at San Lasaro, which is three leagues this way, we began another little hall with two lodges. It is a post very suitable for a good pueblo and for a very good ranch, and, indeed, some corrals had already been made. We left at that post twenty-three beef cattle with their cow-boys; and, since four leagues farther to the northwest, at the opening of the very pleasant valley of Guebavi, there is another very good post and ranchería, with its little church and earth-covered house of adobe, which might be the third pueblo of a very good district, or mission, the first father whom our Lord shall be pleased to bring for the eternal salvation of so many poor creatures will have a very convenient administration. On January 24 I made another mission, or expedition, to Santa Maria and San Lazaro; and while I was engaged in this building at Santa Maria, I received a letter from Father Geronimo Minutuli from San Pedro y San Pablo del Tubutama in regard to the Quiquimas, which I shall place in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IX. LETTER FROM FATHER GERONIMO MINUTULI SAYING THAT THE QUIQUIMAS WERE SENDING ME GIFTS, AND THAT THEY WERE SENDING FOR ME TO COME TO BAPTIZE THEM ¹⁴¹

On April 17 Father Geronimo Minutuli wrote me the following letter:

Fernando, he of Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion del Cavorca, brings to your Reverence thirteen curious [blank], and other gifts, of blue shells, from the opposite coast as a memento of them. Taking your Reverence's consent for granted, I am keeping three, and so they go to your Reverence. May God be pleased to dispose things in such a way that their conversion to our Holy faith may not be greatly delayed, etc.

Thus far Father Geronimo Minutuli. Many of these Quiquimas had come from their lands of California Alta to the neighborhood and vicinity of San Marzelo del Sonoydag, travelling more than forty leagues' journey for the purpose of coming personally to see me and call me to this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. But, as some became wearied and others had some fear and suspicion of going through such different peoples and new lands, they determined to send those gifts and to send for me to go to San Marzelo to meet them. Meanwhile they were sustaining themselves at the sea near by with scant provisions of fish alone, and lacking for the space of more than two months their accustomed good maize, beans, pumpkins, etc., with which all the year this Quiquima nation abounds in their own lands. And as during all this time, with my very many occupations, I did not go and was unable to go to see them, they returned to their lands very disconsolate, and only the coming of the necessary fathers will be able to assuage such pitiful grief. *Parvuli petierunt panem et non erat qui fran-*

¹⁴¹ The contents of this chapter are briefly summarized by Ortega.

*geret eis.*¹⁴² I sent to console them as best I could, saying that, God willing, we should set out on the journey, and that when shortly in the next month of May I could go to the wheat harvest of Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion we would see and speak with one another.

CHAPTER X. MISSION OR JOURNEY TO THE WESTWARD, TO NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LA CONCEPCION DEL CAVORCA; BUILDING, FEAST, AND SOLEMN PROCESSION OF CORPUS CHRISTI IN THE PUEBLO OF SAN PEDRO Y SAN PABLO DEL TUBUTAMA¹⁴³

On May 13 I set out on a mission, or journey, of about fifty leagues to Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion del Cavorca, and at the same time I tried to advance the building of San Pedro y San Pablo del Tubutama as well as those of La Concepcion. On the 23rd of May, as the walls of the church, and particularly those of the sanctuary, were already high, we adorned and roofed them with branches, straw, and flowers, as best we could, and held the feast and solemn procession of Corpus Christi, carrying therefor from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores the good choir of singers, and the ornaments, hangings, canopy, censer, clarion-players, wax, etc. There was a great concourse of people, Christians as well as catechumens. There were many baptisms, among them that of the governor of the very great *ranchería* del Humucan, who promised that with his many people who were present and were accustomed always to assist at the tasks of the building of the church, he would come and live in some pueblo, where some father missionary should minister, especially because that *ranchería* of Umucan, like the others of the

¹⁴² "The little ones have asked for bread and there was none to break it unto them" (*Lam.*, iv, 4).

¹⁴³ The contents of this chapter are omitted by Ortega.

coast in general, has lands less fertile and lacking in water-holes, etc., and as farther inland, to the eastward, we usually have valleys more fertile and very pleasant, with abundance of rich, good lands, rivers, excellent pastures, champaigns, fields of wheat, and of maize, and ranches, etc. Father Geronimo Minutuli catechised and instructed all those children very well, before baptism and at the time of baptism.

After this feast of Corpus Christi I came with my people to this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores to hold here also on the following Sunday, the same solemnity and feast of Corpus Christi, to which many Spaniards came with many natives of this vicinity and of the interior, and from the mining camps near-by. And all rejoiced that now also in the interior at the pueblo of San Pedro y San Pablo del Tubutama there should have been this first feast of our Lord and of Christ crucified, and that as the triumph of our holy Catholic faith had come far inland, with well founded hopes that the necessary father ministers were coming, our holy Catholic faith must triumph in all this North America.

CHAPTER XI. THE FATHERS OF CALIFORNIA DESIRE
AND ATTEMPT TO OPEN COMMUNICATION AND
COMMERCE WITH THE PIMERIA BY WAY OF THE
RECENTLY DISCOVERED ISLAND OF SANTA YNES,
AND BY THE NEW CAPE OF SAN VICENTE OF
THIS CALIFORNIAN GULF IN THIRTY-
ONE DEGREES OF LATITUDE

Father Geronimo Minutuli on June 7 wrote me the following letter.

I have just received letters from California from Father Ugarte and Brother Jaime Bravo, who salute your Reverence by name, etc. And Father Rector Juan Ugarte has rejoiced greatly at the discovery which your Reverence made of the new

Island of Santa Ynes and of the Cape of San Vicente of the Sea of California, and at the other things concerning this matter, for I wrote to his Reverence that you had seen it and his Reverence says that when he has enough provisions he will go on to explore it; but that the succor which is detained in Guaimas had not yet arrived. Therefore he greatly desires the commerce and nearer aid of the Pimeria, etc. This is in substance what his Reverence says, which it has seemed to me well to impart to your Reverence as soon as possible, that your Reverence continuing with your great charity and zeal, this Pima-California gate may be opened soon, etc. I shall greatly rejoice if your Reverence has had a very joyful feast of Corpus Christi. May he pay your Reverence for the toils which the material and spiritual foundation of this church costs you. I write at no greater length on account of the bearer's haste.

Thus far Father Geronimo Minutuli. And although I have always recognized and now recognize that this passage and commerce by way of the Island of Santa Ynes and of the Cape of San Vicente at thirty-one degrees latitude can not give particular difficulty, and can be the means of great relief and advancement to the new conversions and new missions of California Baxa, where already so gloriously the fathers above mentioned are toiling, as well as of California Alta, which is the nearest and closest to the land passage to California, my very many occupations, and especially the total lack of the father missionaries necessary for so great a harvest of souls as we have in hand together with the accustomed contradiction and opposition of some disaffected ones, have prevented and now prevent me from continuing the search for the very easy discovery of this new and very short passage to California. For, as it is no more than eight or ten leagues across a very peaceful and sheltered sea, even with some good canoes, or launches, or medium-sized vessels, this way and commerce can be opened and continued. And if,

as Father Visitor Oracio Police had determined at the time of his holy visit, a father companion had been given me, who at the time of my absence would have supplied my place in these my three pueblos of my administration, that way, as well as others, with other good things, could have been opened long since. But perhaps it is not yet too late and that this and much more shall be done when it is most expedient, for *Non enim abbreviata est manus Domini*.¹⁴⁴

CHAPTER XII. LETTER OF GENERAL JUAN FERNANDES DE LA FUENTE, WHO, FAVORING THE ABOVE MENTIONED MISSIONS, OR JOURNEYS, WHICH HAVE BEEN MADE, GIVES ASSURANCE THAT MORE WILL BE ACCOMPLISHED AND GAINED BY THE RELIGIOUS CHARITY OF THE FATHERS THAN BY THE MILITARY WEAPONS OF THE SOLDIERS ¹⁴⁵

The very experienced and valorous general Juan Fernandes de la Fuente, from the Real de Quisuari on the fifth of July wrote me among other points the following:

More than any one else I rejoice at the prosperity with which that new Christendom is increasing, and at the many nations which are asking fathers to minister to them, and especially the Cocomaricopas. Your Reverence has done very well to bring them to the presence of the Father Rector Melchor, who, it may be, will give his approval to our Father Provincial, that he may send the fathers. And I can see that if all the fathers who today are in that Pima nation and the environs are united, your Reverence's glorious purpose will soon be accomplished. God grant that so it may happen, and that soon the very short way by the sea ¹⁴⁶ and the passage by land to the Californias may be secured, which will be a means of much re-

¹⁴⁴ "The hand of the Lord is not shortened" (*Isaias*, lix, i).

¹⁴⁵ The contents of this chapter are omitted by Ortega.

¹⁴⁶ The reference is to the proposed route by the Island of Santa Inez.

lief for all; and in fine, my Father, if God grants that all the nations that your Reverence tells me have come to see you be reduced, we may promise ourselves a more than splendid Christendom. And with the expeditions which your Reverence is making to their lands, and with your invitations, feasts, and processions, and charitable treatment, the drawing of them to the true knowledge will be accomplished with more facility than if one entered with many arquebusiers. I know that if that communication by sea and land be opened there will be many who will go and come to the Californias, etc.; and as to the journey which your Reverence is determined to make after the summer, may his Divine Majesty grant that all may result in his honor and glory and the reduction and salvation of so great a number of souls for whom Christ our Lord shed His most precious blood. They must not be permitted to lack holy baptism; and by the context of the letter of my Father Geronimo Minutuli, I recognize that he is contented in Tubutama and that he is encouraging your Reverence and the reverend fathers who are in the Californias, that this gate to the Californias by sea and land may be opened shortly. God grant that it may come to pass in your Reverence's time and that in all you may see the glorious end of your labors accomplished, for which you will have the reward of his Divine Majesty. May He guard me your Reverence, etc.

Thus far General Juan Fernandez de la Fuente. And with this letter, so Christian, I close this book in regard to the first months of this year 1706, and pass on to Book Four, dealing with the other six months.

BOOK IV. OF THE LAST SIX MONTHS OF
THIS YEAR, 1706, AND PRINCIPALLY OF
THE MISSION, OR EXPEDITION, WHICH
WAS LEGALLY MADE BY ORDER OF GEN-
ERAL DON JACINTO DE FUEN SALDAÑA,
CAPTAIN FOR LIFE AND MILITARY
COMMANDER OF THIS PROVINCE OF
SONORA, WITH ALFEREZ JUAN MA-
THEO RAMIRES, COMMANDER
JUAN DURAN, AND FRAY MAN-
UEL DE LA OYUELA, OF THE
SACRED ORDER OF THE SERA-
PHIC SAN FRANCISCO

CHAPTER I. WITH THE NEWS THAT FATHERS ARE
COMING FROM EUROPE, LABORERS ARE PROMISED
US FOR THESE NEW CONVERSIONS, AND REPORTS
ARE ASKED OF US AND ARE GIVEN IN REGARD
TO THE NUMBER OF THE FATHERS THAT
ARE NEEDED IN THEM

Father Visitor Francisco Maria Picolo on July 18
wrote me from Belen de Guaimas the following letter:

I have answered all your Reverence's letters. Now I be-
seech your Reverence to please inform me by a messenger how
many are the missions founded by the king our Lord in the
Pimeria, how many fathers are necessary, and must be placed
in missions. Let the report be made with all detail, because I
desire very much to see the Pimeria advanced in my time; and
it will not remain backward so far as my efforts, labors, and
sweat may avail, for personally, God giving me strength, I
shall place the fathers in their districts.

Thus far Father Visitor Francisco Maria Picolo.

And Father Rector Melchor Bartiromo, asking a reward for the good news, on July 29 writes me the following:

I have just received a letter from the father visitor with these words: "Your Reverence will advise me at once how many fathers are necessary for the Pimeria and how many missions the king our Lord has founded. Report them with the names of the places and posts as well as of the saints to whom they are dedicated." I now ask your Reverence that you, as more experienced, inform me thereof, in order at once to answer the father visitor, for it is of importance because persons are coming from Spain.

Thus far the father rector. In virtue of these two letters I immediately made the reports which were asked of me, one of which I despatched by a messenger to San Joseph de Guaimas to the father visitor, who sent it to Mexico to the father provincial. As his Reverence wrote me, he despatched it to Rome to our father general. This report was accompanied by the long relation of all the posts suitable for very good districts and missions in this Pimeria, with a very clear map of the nine pueblos which we three fathers who have lived in this Pimeria are actually administering, Father Agustin de Campos at San Ygnacio, Santa Maria Magdalena, and San Joseph de Ymires, Father Geronimo Minutuli at San Pedro y San Pablo del Tubutama, Santa Thereza, and San Antonio del Uquitoa, and I here at Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, Nuestra Señor de los Remedios, and Nuestra Señora del Pilar y Santiago de Cocospera; an account of the other five alms which his Royal Majesty, God save him, had granted for five other new fathers and five new missions; and the opinion that therefore immediately, besides us three missionary fathers who were here in our three already settled districts, or missions, at least five others

could come for five other good districts, or new missions; and that accordingly the fourth Pima father could come for Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion del Caborca, San Diego del Pitquin, and San Valentin, the fifth for Santa Maria, San Lazaro, and San Luys; the sixth for San Ambrosio del Busanic, Santa Gertrudis del Saric, and San Bernardo del Aquimuri; the seventh for San Xavier del Bac, San Agustin, and Santa Rosalia, of the Sobaipuris; the eighth for Santa Ana del Quiburi. San Juachin, and Santa Cruz, where lives the famous Captain Coro. For in all these posts or pueblos already named there are very good beginnings of Christianity, houses in which to live, churches in which to say mass, fields and crops of wheat and maize, and the cattle, sheep, goats, and horses, which the natives for years have been tending with all fidelity for the fathers whom they ask and hope to receive.

CHAPTER II. LETTER FROM THE FATHER VISITOR,
FRANCISCO PICOLO, IN REGARD TO THE RECEIPT
AND DESPATCH TO MEXICO OF THE REPORT
AND THE MAP OF THE NEW MISSIONS,
FOUNDED AND TO BE FOUNDED,
OF THIS PIMERIA

As soon as I had with all possible speed made the report, map, and relation of the posts most suitable for the good and convenient missions and districts of this Pimeria, I despatched them by messenger to the father visitor, Francisco Maria Picolo, who had asked me for them; and his Reverence wrote me from Belen the following letter:

On my return from San Marcial I am in receipt of your Reverence's most delightful letter with the map and detailed reports of the missions of our Pimeria. God grant us the boon of seeing it animated with zealous fathers like those who are apostolically toiling in it now. I had set out to visit your Reverences and discuss in your presence the condition of the missions

which need fathers; but it was not possible to pass on because of the rains, bogs, rivers, heat, and my lack of strength, and I returned on the Vesper of our Lady. Now if your Reverence's courier and messenger had asked for me on the road from Los Ures he would have found me at San Marcial with Father Rector Fernando Bayerca and Father Manuel Gonzales, who went on to Movas.^{146a} As the father provincial asked me for the reply with all promptness, I have answered his Reverence telling him that the missions founded in the Pimeria were seven, but from your Reverence's report I find there are eight. I am again writing to the Father Provincial, sending him your Reverence's letter, etc.

Thus far the father visitor. As I said above, I afterward had a letter from the father provincial stating that these papers had been sent to Rome; and I shall add another letter by a secular gentleman who at this same time was taking the same measures to secure missionary fathers.

CHAPTER III. LETTER FROM GENERAL JUAN MATHEO MANJE STATING THAT THERE HAVE BEEN ASKED OF HIM AND THAT HE IS ARRANGING TO PRINT RELATIONS AND REPORTS CONDUCIVE TO THE COMING OF THE NECESSARY MISSIONARY FATHERS TO THIS PIMERIA ¹⁴⁷

On September 15 General Juan Matheo Manje, who shortly before was alcalde mayor of this province, wrote me the following letter:

The licenciado and advocate, Don Miguel de Torrises y Cano, has an order from the Señor viceroy to add, if it shall be necessary, thirty other soldiers; and said licenciado has employed humble me to send by his hand to the viceroy all the diaries and itineraries of the discoveries of nations which I have made with your Reverence.¹⁴⁸ I have already copied five and set

^{146a} Movas is on the Río Chico about thirty miles above its junction with the Río Yaqui.

¹⁴⁷ Contents of this chapter omitted by Ortega.

¹⁴⁸ This paragraph seems to explain the circumstances of the compilation of Manje's *Lux de Tierra Incógnita*, or at least the beginning of it.

forth the advantage which may follow for God and the King from the thirty soldiers and father laborers for the reduced nations, the Sobas, Pimas, Sobaipuris, Cocomaricopas, and the Yumas of the Rio Colorado, where, I state, a villa can be founded which will serve as a haven and ante-mural and refuge for reducing the other nations, the Moquis, the Apachis, and the nations of the north, northwest, and west, as far as the South Sea, and a refuge for the navigators from China, with well-founded hopes of minerals; and that this squadron will serve not only for these frontiers, but also to visit the nations which shall be reduced to our holy faith and to punish any malevolent nation that may disquiet the others, in order that the father laborers whom I ask can be secure in preaching the law to the Holy Gospel. I have already written about one hundred sheets, and I am still writing the rest; but the itinerary of the journey which we made with your Reverence and Father Anttonio Leal is lacking.¹⁴⁹ Let me ask your Reverence to send it to me, and if you do not find it please send me a short account from the day that we set out until we returned, the number of leagues which we traveled and the souls that we counted, for I remember the rest of the course, the country, etc.

Thus far General Juan Matheo Manje, who always with very Christian zeal is very fond of these new conquests and conversions, as he has always given us to understand by his journeys, his writings, and his maps.

CHAPTER IV. AT THIS SAME TIME THE PRINCIPAL NATIVES AND CACIQUES, CAPTAINS, AND GOVERNORS OF THE NORTH AND NORTHEAST AS WELL AS OF THE NORTHWEST, SENT MESSENGERS WITH A HOLY CROSS AND OTHER GIFTS, AND WITH URGENT PRAYERS TO ASK FOR FATHERS AND HOLY BAPTISM ¹⁵⁰

SEPTEMBER 8, 1706. On September 8, feast of the Nativity of Mary Most Holy, Captain Coro, who in

¹⁴⁹ In his *Luz de Tierra Incógnita* Manje gives a full diary of this expedition. It may be based on one borrowed from Kino.

¹⁵⁰ The contents of this chapter are omitted by Ortega. See *Apostólicos Afanes*, 323.

baptism was called Anttonio Leal, came to this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. He brought with him many natives of the interior and with them the Governor of Cocospora, who is called Francisco Pacheco. Captain Coro told us in public that this past month of August, as soon as the rains had slackened, he with some of his people had penetrated to the northward as far as the Sobaipuris of San Xavier del Bac, about fifty leagues beyond his ranchería of Santa Ana del Quiburi, and toward the northeast as far as the other Sobai-puris of the Valley of San Salvador,¹⁵¹ at a distance of more than sixty leagues, and that all those governors and captains in all parts had come to see him; and with all the other very many natives of those districts which he penetrated, they asked him to come to see me and to ask me to go to see them and to baptize them, for with all their hearts they wished to be Christians.

Also, they sent very friendly messages and remembrances to all the other fathers of these missions and to the alcalde mayor and to all the lieutenants, to the captain of the presidio, to all the Spaniards, and to the other natives and to Christians, sending me at the same time therefor a holy cross, and upon it noted the principal sixteen great rancherías which with urgency were asking me for holy baptism. At this same time, on August 28, I found out from the governor of San Marzelo, a ranchería or incipient pueblo of the northwest, ninety leagues distant from here, from the justices of this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, and from Spanish witnesses, that the Yumas and Quiquimas of the northwest and of the land passage to California, had sent requests, and gifts of blue shells from the opposite coast, asking me to come to see them and baptize at least their infants.

¹⁵¹ San Salvador del Bai-cat-can, in the San Pedro River Valley.

Now the messages from the Pimas were from one hundred and seventy leagues' journey, and those from the Quiquimas were from two hundred leagues; and the blue shells, which occur only on the opposite coast of California and the South Sea, came almost three hundred leagues. And at the same time that they are calling us by the land passage to California Alta, in a long letter from Father Rector Juan de Ugarte, which I shall place in the following chapter, they are also calling me by the short sea passage to California Baxa. I shall only add here that at this same time a disaffected person made a spiteful, malicious report against California, in regard to which Father Rector Melchor Bartiromo wrote me the following, on the 7th of September:

The iniquitous report against California makes no difference to me, because the Devil will hinder as far as the Lord will allow, and he avails himself of men; but God is above all. Remember, your Reverence, that they have spoken against the Pimeria, but notwithstanding, God is sustaining it and advancing it until it may all become Christian. *Non est Concilium Contra Dominum.*¹⁵²

Thus far Father Rector Melchor Bartiromo.

¹⁵² "There is no counsel against the Lord."

CHAPTER V. LETTER FROM THE FATHER RECTOR
OF CALIFORNIA, JUAN DE UGARTE, IN REGARD TO
A LAUNCH FOR THE MORE IMMEDIATE COMMUNI-
CATION OF THESE MISSIONS OF THIS PROVINCE
WITH CALIFORNIA BY THE SHORT PASSAGE
OF EIGHT OR NINE LEAGUES AT MOST,
IN THIRTY-ONE DEGREES LATITUDE;
HE INVITES ME TO CROSS OVER
TO CALIFORNIA ¹⁵³

SEPTEMBER 7, 1706. From Loreto Concho, Cali-
fornia, Father Rector Juan Ugarte wrote me the fol-
lowing letter on September 7:

I am in receipt of two letters from your Reverence, one of June 20, the other of July 2, both very gratifying because of the news of your Reverence's health (God prosper it for His great glory and the good of many souls), as well as because of what they both contain in regard to the laudable zeal and purpose of your Reverence and of the fathers for the opening of communication through a port near to that province, from which succor has been plentiful. Taking for granted the determination of your Reverence and of the fathers, it is necessary for me, as one who at great cost has had experience with vessels, to advise your Reverence, so that your worthy desire and its fulfillment may not be delayed, but rather facilitated. Let me say, then, that although your Reverence may have timbers, and people, and even artisans to build, although you may have iron, sails, cables, tow-ropes, bars, and on the beach a good place to launch the vessel, there would necessarily always be anxiety and expenditure of time; and, after all, since the vessel comes out at your expense, what appeals to me as best is that, in any case, the fathers who wish to coöperate in the building be urged to buy a launch already made, with anchors, cables, and sails. They will save more than half the expense and, what is the most necessary and precious, time. It cost General Resava[1] to make his little sloop, they say, fifteen thousand pesos and more than four years of time, while the little launch which Captain Martin de Sertigui purchased cost only two thousand pesos. I can arrange it

¹⁵³ The contents of this chapter are omitted by Ortega.

so that this year your Reverence may have a vessel by raising that amount, and with that, we shall await only the good season for ascending to that latitude of the Seris and of the Pimeria, for in the rainy season it can not enter even though it be a large vessel, for the mariners say that as the seas are unknown it is necessary that the seaman be ready for any contingency.

Your Reverence will see by this letter of General Andres de Resaval, his plan to cross over here with his bark in search of pearls to trade, as we have always desired. And your Reverence, besides the fish, will have the salt in the Bay of La Concepcion, without going down to the Island of El Carmen. Likewise the mariners will cost, for they are very expensive, and now we are as much lacking in them as in vessels. Part are Chinese and part Californian, three Chinese and four Californians, even Indians of Xalxocotan, and a son of Basil the Pima. Since there are three diving vessels, all are looking for them, and they are not all capable of directing building. The cost to us of repairing only one launch in Acapulco was more than a thousand and four hundred pesos, after the China ship had given to us her launch, only to repair, because it will amount to building, although it be only a launch. Consider it, your Reverences, and advise me; thereupon the launch will be arranged for, and perhaps there will be people who will deliver it at Guaimas. One cable alone usually cost forty pesos, and there will be two.¹⁵⁴ It was cheaper for us to buy a Peruvian vessel at Acapulco than to repair the one which we had, and so it went to the bottom.

Perhaps with a vessel we shall see accomplished what has not been possible by land. If these two here had not been in use, for one went to New Spain, I should have made it a point to ascend as far as thirty degrees, following an itinerary of Ortega.¹⁵⁵ In the months from November to March the northwest winds are so strong that no bark can ascend even though it be Galician. It can be done only in the beginning of April and May, when also the currents set inward; so that the launch being there for the crossing, it at all times only remains to go and return. This is my opinion, but your Reverence, being more experienced, will decide what may be according to your pleasure

¹⁵⁴ The manuscript is corrupt at this point and the translation uncertain.

¹⁵⁵ The reference is to the Ortega who attempted settlements in California in the seventeenth century.

and for the greater service of God. May he guard me your Reverence, to whose holy sacrifices I commend myself; and if it were allowed there, and your Reverence could give us a little look over here, you could arrange what you might consider best and would see what there is here in this California, which was the first theatre of your Reverence's apostolic labors. I beseech you to salute for me my Father Geronimo Minutuli. I expect soon the reply in regard to the buying of the launch, which is called *San Pedro de Alcantara*.

Thus far Father Rector Juan de Ugarte, whom I answered what I shall say in the following chapter.

CHAPTER VI. REPLY TO THIS CALIFORNIAN LETTER
SAYING THAT HERE IN THIS PIMERIA WE HAVE AL-
READY A SUPPLY OF WHAT IS NECESSARY FOR THE
LITTLE VESSEL, OR LAUNCH, FOR THIS SHORT
PASSAGE AT THIRTY-ONE DEGREES LATI-
TUDE, AND THAT WE LACK ONLY THE
NECESSARY FATHER MISSIONARIES
AND A PAIR OF SHIP-BOYS OR
CHINESE ¹⁵⁶

Many persons were of the opinion that at this latitude of thirty-one degrees also we should undertake immediately the conquest and conversion of California, since it occupies a middle position between the missions which are already so gloriously in operation in California Baxa, at twenty-six and twenty-seven degrees, and the new conversions which, God willing, if father missionaries come, can be established in the land passage to California and in its neighborhood, in California Alta, at thirty-five and thirty-six and thirty-seven degrees of latitude. Therefore, inasmuch as I agree with the above very prudent holy Californian letter of Father Rector Juan de Ugarte, I answered and I answer as follows:

¹⁵⁶ The contents of this chapter are omitted by Ortega.

In regard to securing a small but adequate vessel for this very short crossing, of eight or nine or ten leagues of quiet and sheltered sea of this Californian Gulf, by the favor of Heaven we shall not have great difficulty, for I have here on hand in this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores the greater part of the timbers prepared for a little bark, already squared, which we shall be able, with some good pack-mules, easily to carry to the shore of this gulf, together with the other planks which I have at Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion del Cavorca, already very near the sea. I have been preparing these timbers since the time of the visit of Father Visitor Manuel Gonzales, who, with our Father General Thirso Gonzales and with Father Provincial Diego de Almonacir, was a great lover of these new conversions.¹⁵⁷ And his Reverence having conferred in regard to passing over to the neighboring California also at this latitude of thirty-two degrees, for we have it plainly in view, they immediately gave me at Oposura the silver necessary to buy, and I immediately bought, at the Real de San Juan, sufficient coarse canvas for the sail of the little bark, although, since afterwards our Lord was pleased that we should discover a land passage to California, I suspended the building of the little bark. But there are here the supplies of this sail, and of the timbers which they call ribs, futtocks, and top-timbers, in one piece to save part of the nails; the rudder and the oars and their sort, of ash, and the necessary thread of Hoqui for a hank and for the tackle, with sufficient hemp, and a forge for the nails, and what is needed for the rigging, and much pine from which to obtain the necessary pitch, and fat cows for the tallow, and very rich and fertile champagnes, for the provisions, with which, thanks be to the Lord, we are accustomed to have our larders full every year. Also, in order to be able with all love to aid therewith the well beloved California, which is *Tenerrima soror nostra*,¹⁵⁸ we eat nothing except we divide with her, *Soror enim nostra parvula, et ubera non habet*.¹⁵⁹ They still lack the very fertile, rich fields in California. But your Reverence is coming and will discover them. Blessed sisters are Marta and Magdalena. Over here, content with the

¹⁵⁷ The visit of Gonzalez was made in 1689. See volume i, 115.

¹⁵⁸ "Our most tender sister."

¹⁵⁹ "For our sister is little, and hath no breasts" (*Cant. of Cant.*, viii, 8).

ministry of Martha, we shall happily serve the fathers who over there in happiness enjoy the blessed lot of Magdalena. And so far as it is possible for us we shall procure fathers by many different ways, by that land passage at thirty-five degrees, and by this short sea passage at thirty-one degrees latitude, not forgetting what in so many ways we owe the Redeemer of the World, who has bought us as he has redeemed so many poor creatures, and who says to us: *Illis solvite [quae] mihi debetis*,¹⁶⁰ and we shall pay it if we aid our needy neighbors. In this way we shall set fire to the plain of California in different places with fresh memories of the admirable post communion which our Holy Mother Church gives in her mass to our Holy Father Ygnacio: *Ignem veni mittere in terris et quid volo nisi ut acendatur?*¹⁶¹

In regard to the vessel for this short passage and crossing, the difficulty is exaggerated also when we know that there is still in existence, grounded on this our coast of these Pimas and of these Seris, very near to the same latitude above-mentioned of thirty-one degrees, the great canoe in which Juan de Errera, one of the sailors of the Admiral Don Ysidro de Atondo y Antillon, with two companions, set out from the port of Masatlan in search and pursuit of those of us who were in the Real de San Bruno of California, and having passed us by without seeing us and searching for us in a higher latitude without finding us, came with his canoe from California to this new Spain and to these coasts of the Seris and Pimas, where he left it grounded, and passed on to Mexico to report everything to different persons, and to me in the house of the Casa Profesa.¹⁶²

Thus the principal and only difficulty consists in the lack of missionary fathers, one or two to come to live in and administer the new missions and pueblos which we have prepared for them, and one who in my absence, ministrations, ceremonies, and peregrinations, might help me to take care of these three pueblos of my administration, and others for other new missions which we have in hand. For, these father laborers so necessary being

¹⁶⁰ "Pay to them what you owe to me."

¹⁶¹ "I have come to cast fire on the earth and what will I but that it be kindled" (*Luke*, xii, 49).

¹⁶² This was at the time of the abandonment of California by Atondo, after which Kino went to Mexico.

here for these missions, soon, God willing, with all ease we shall be able to go to the short passage at thirty-one degrees of latitude and to the new conquests and new conversion of its environs and to the succor and conversion of the already established missions of California, and to many others of all this North America. A pair of ship-boys, or Chinese, for the direction of the little bark, or launch, or large canoe for this very short crossing, are to be found in Cinaloa and in its neighborhood, for at least some are accustomed to come out of California, etc. May Our Lord guard me your Reverence, as I desire, for very happy years. I commend myself to your holy sacrifices, and send my tenderest greetings to my best beloved fathers of California. Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, November 4, 1706, your Reverence's humble servant in Christ,

EUSEVIO KINO.

BOOK V. NEW MISSION, OR JOURNEY, TO
THE LAND PASSAGE TO CALIFORNIA,¹⁶⁸
WITH FRAY MANUEL DE LA OYUELA, OF
THE SACRED ORDER OF THE SERAPHIC
SAN FRANCISCO, AND BY ORDER OF GEN-
ERAL JASINTO DE FUEN ZALDAÑA, MILI-
TARY COMMANDER AND CAPTAIN FOR
LIFE FOR HIS MAJESTY OF THE FLYING
COMPANY, OR PRESIDIO, OF THIS PROV-
INCE OF SONORA, WITH ITS ALFÉREZ
JUAN MATHEO RAMIRES, AND ITS
COMMANDER JUAN DURAN, 1706

CHAPTER I. LETTER WHICH GENERAL DON JACIN-
TO DE FUENZALDAÑA WRITES ME IN REGARD TO
HIS HAPPY RETURN FROM MEXICO TO THIS
PROVINCE OF SONORA AND TO HIS FLYING
COMPANY OR PRESIDIO OF THIS PROVINCE

We have always found that General Jacinto de Fuen-
saldaña was very Christianly well-disposed to these
new conversions and new conquests and to this Pimeria,
and in his campaigns against the hostile Hocomes and
Apaches he availed himself with pleasure and with
satisfaction of these Pima natives and of their captains
and governors. And they in turn had for him very
friendly, very favorable, and, as it were, filial re-
gard. And although the very troublesome lawsuits
with which the common enemy is accustomed to try to
prevent all good things furnished the reason why said

¹⁶⁸ This journey is summarized by Ortega (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 323-326).

General Don Jacinto went personally to the court of Mexico for the settlement of the affairs of this presidio, on his return from the above mentioned city his Grace wrote me while on the way from the neighboring presidio of Xanos on the twenty-sixth of June the following letter:

MY BELOVED FATHER: It is now time to give some comfort to my friends, and I call to your Reverence's notice my arrival at this presidio of Xanos, on the road to mine, restored with all my men, and with my salary paid for the whole time that I was despoiled of it, all the charges which General Retana made against me having been nullified. Your Reverence knows my affection, and moved by it I spoke at length to my beloved Father Provincial Juan Maria in regard to your Reverence and our Pimeria, and he told me that now the opposition of the disaffected was being very well adjusted and quieted. Thereupon I told him that your Reverence had always been a great example of virtue and religion and apostolic zeal. I say no more, but wait until I see you, meanwhile asking God to spare me your Reverence for happy years, etc.

Thus far General Jasinto de Fuenzaldaña. Afterwards I went to the frontiers to see his Grace and speak of the advancement of these new conversions; and I drew from his store three thousand, three hundred *pesos* in clothing for the supply of these my new missions, in exchange for provisions, flour, maize, horses, mules, etc., with which these new conversions generally abound; all of which he gave me with very good will, without asking me for a single *peso* in silver, which they are accustomed to demand in the stores of other traders.¹⁶⁴ As we spoke principally of the promotion of these new conversions, and as I showed him a certificate which a few days ago the lieutenant of this Pimeria had given me in regard to its good state in the midst of the accus-

¹⁶⁴ This transaction illustrates the mercantile position of the commander of a frontier presidio.

tomed contradictions and of some opposition on the part of some ill-affected in regard to the land-passage to California, his Grace, considering as certain that which was very certain, that California was not an island, decided to furnish me some soldiers to go with me to be eye-witnesses and inform themselves of everything for the purpose of reporting juridically in Mexico, and to despatch a courier at his own expense, in order also to secure and bring the fathers so necessary for these new conversions. And as also by other means and even as an eye-witness he was convinced of the many very good things of this Pimeria, his Grace required of his *alférez* an exact daily account of everything, in order afterwards to authenticate it with a certificate of his own, and despatch it to Mexico.

CHAPTER II. AUTHENTICATED CERTIFICATE OF THE CAPTAIN DEPUTY ALCALDE MAYOR OF THE GOOD STATE OF THESE NEW CONVERSIONS, AND DECLARING THAT EVEN THE QUIQUIMAS OF THE LAND PASSAGE TO CALIFORNIA SENT A HOLY CROSS AND TO ASK HOLY BAPTISM

Although there have always been very favorable certificates by different *alcalde mayors* and by other royal officials of the good state of this Pimeria, and that the very friendly natives ask and deserve the missionary fathers necessary for its administration, I shall place here this more recent one which I took with me by chance among my papers when recently I went to see and to speak with General Don Jacinto de Fuen Saldaña. It is as follows:

SEPTEMBER 7, 1706. On the seventh of the month of September, 1706, in this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, in the presence of Captain Juan Dias de Theran, deputy *alcalde mayor* of the valley of Opodepe and its jurisdiction for

his Majesty, having come in company with some citizens of said jurisdiction for the purpose and aim of hearing mass on the day of Mary Most Holy, we found in this said pueblo Captain Francisco Pacheco, otherwise called Cola de Palo,¹⁶⁵ Governor of Cocospora, and Captain Anttonio Leal, otherwise called Captain Coro, captain-general of said Pima nation, who had come from the interior and had brought to Reverend Father Eusevio Francisco Kino messages and signs of friendship, crosses, and blue shells from the opposite coast of California, and other things used in those rancherías, in which they ask the friendship and protection of the Spaniards, and the comfort of their souls, asking with insistence holy baptism and missionary fathers to minister to them; and at present there is in this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores a captain of San Marcelo, ninety leagues distant, who came with his children and wife asking the same as the others asked, a father to minister to him, etc. And being personally present at all the above mentioned, at the request of the said Reverend Father Eusevio Francisco Kino, I certify and declare in testimony of having seen and spoken through an interpreter to the said captains and governors of said nations. And they likewise said that the Yuma and Quiquima nations to the northwest are also calling the Father Eusevio Francisco Kino with the same purpose of being Christianized. In testimony thereof I have certified it and authenticated it as a judge actuary, and with the witnesses who were present. Done in said day and year, and executed on common paper because there is no stamped paper, which is supplied by the ordinary justice of this province.

JUAN DIAS DE THERAN.

* [Witnesses:] JUAN DE LA RIVA Y ZALAZAR
ANTTONIO DE LA VEGA CAMACHO
DIEGO MUÑOS
FRANCISCO DE CASTRO

¹⁶⁵ Literally, "brush tail."

CHAPTER III. DIARY OF THE JOURNEY TO THE
LAND PASSAGE TO CALIFORNIA, FROM OCTOBER 13
TO NOVEMBER 16, 1706; DEPARTURE FROM THE
PRESIDIO OF SANTA ROSA DE CORODEGUACHI,¹⁶⁶
AND ARRIVAL AT THE PUEBLO OF NUESTRA
SEÑORA DE LOS DOLORES

Inasmuch as General Don Jacinto de Fuenzaldaña, by word as well as in writing, gave wise orders and very Christian instructions to his alférez, Juan Matheo Ramires, for this journey, requiring of him among other things an exact daily account of everything, signed by the Father Eusevio Francisco Kino, and by Fray Manuel de la Oyuela, of the Order of San Francisco, who also came to this journey, and by his companion, the commander Juan Anttonio Duran, and authenticated by his hand, that it might go to Mexico and even to His Royal Majesty, God save him, I shall give here the account of this journey as it is given in the diary of the said Alférez Juan Matheo Ramires, and the letter which he writes to his lord and captain of the presidio, Don Jacinto de Fuen Saldaña, which is as follows:

"My Señor General Don Jacinto de Fuen Zaldaña: Obeying your orders that I should accompany Father Eusevio Francisco Kino in his journey, I have to report that, having set out from the presidio on the thirteenth of October, we arrived at Quiquiarachi,¹⁶⁷ where until very late at night said Father Eusevio Francisco Kino and the father of the district, Bacilio Javier de Molina, talked at length of the great good which could be done with ease, in the service of both Majesties, in the vicinity of these frontiers, as well as in other more remote parts of these new conversions.

¹⁶⁶ Santa Rosa de Corodeguachi (Fronteras) is on the Nacozari railroad about thirty-five miles south of Douglas, Arizona.

¹⁶⁷ Cuquiárichi (Quiquiarachi) is about ten miles southwest of Fronteras.

"On the fourteenth we arrived, after a fourteen leagues' journey, at the pueblo of Bacoachi,¹⁶⁸ whence I sent the two companions as your Grace ordered.

"15. On the fifteenth, after a ten leagues' journey we arrived at the Real de Bacanuche.

"16. On the sixteenth, after a twenty leagues' journey, we arrived at nightfall at the pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, where we were welcomed by the domestics of Father Eusevio Francisco Kino, as well as by the many outsiders who had come from the interior with a holy cross and with other good gifts of blue shells from the opposite coast, with a holy cross which the people of the Quiquima nation sent, when sending for Father Kino to go to baptize their little ones, at least. In the company of those who brought these messages came other natives of the coast, who brought not only many *tamales* of dried *pitajayas* but also some little boxes¹⁶⁹ of fresh *pitajayas*, which are produced on this coast in great abundance in October, in November, and even in December, whereas in other parts they are produced in June and July.

"17. On the seventeenth Father Kino answered the many letters which he found here, and we provided ourselves with what was necessary for our journey, with biscuit, with pack-animals, etc.

"18. On the eighteenth the father sent forward to the governor of San Marcelo a despatch to notify his relatives, as well as the rest in the vicinity of the land passage to California, that we, two fathers and two soldiers, were making an expedition past there.

"19. On the nineteenth we saw a great number of little crosses and blue shells, curious balls, and other

¹⁶⁸ Bacoachi is on the Río de Sonora about twenty-five miles north of Arizpe.

¹⁶⁹ *Cacaste*, a box or crate.

gifts, which on various preceding occasions the Quiquimas of California Alta and the other nations of the land passage had sent Father Kino, sending always to call him to go to baptize them.

"20. On the twentieth, while we were equipping ourselves here for the journey to the northwest, Father Kino despatched messages and gifts to the Sobaipuris of the north and of the northeast by the captain of this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores.

"21. On the twenty-first, in the afternoon we set out from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores for Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, to provide some sumpters and other things for our journey to the passage by land to California."

CHAPTER IV. MISSION OR EXPEDITION TO THE
LAND PASSAGE TO CALIFORNIA, FROM OCTOBER 22
TO NOVEMBER 16, 1706, TAKEN FROM THE DIARY
OF ALFÉREZ JUAN MATHEO RAMIRES, WHO
WENT ON THE EXPEDITION

"OCT. 22, 1706. On October 22 Father Eusevio Francisco Kino came from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores to Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, and with his Reverence Fray Manuel de la Oyuela, of the Sacred Order of the Seraphic San Francisco, who was asking alms for the founding of the novitiate of Guadalajara. When Father Kino set out this morning for Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, he met with his Reverence after the first quarter league's journey, and, returning to the pueblo to give him chocolate, both fathers arrived at noon at this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios. Fray Manuel having decided to enter to ask alms of the other Pima fathers, he was pleased to accompany us on the expedition and to view the land passage to California.

"23. This being agreed upon, on October twenty-third we went all together to the pueblo of Santiago de Cocospora, where, as also in Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, we saw the two very good churches, many cattle, sheep, and goats and the store rooms very well supplied with wheat and maize, all for the very good succor of the other new missions which in their time might be founded.

"24-25. On the twenty-fourth we passed the ranch of San Simon y Judas del Siboda, which Father Kino had founded for the aid of new missions. After about fifteen leagues' journey, passing by the good field of Bavasaqui,¹⁷⁰ we arrived at nightfall on the twenty-fifth. We found that the cowboys whom Father Kino had sent forward from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores had provided four dried beeves for the journey and for the building of the church of El Tubutama, and forty pack-animals, horses, and mules, for our journey, which we took for our expedition, with the twenty-five sumpters, which we had brought from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. There were provided also twenty-five other beeves, which were taken to San Ambrosio de Busanic, in place of as many other very tame ones which had been taken from there and had been driven to San Marzelo, by which we had to pass.

"26. On the twenty-sixth we set out for Santa Barbara del Sonoydag, which is a little ranchería with very good land, where they had wheat and maize ready for harvest for the Church, and where the natives received us with all kindness; and we continued, to sleep two leagues farther on, travelling today about fourteen leagues.

"27. On the twenty-seventh, arising early, we went

¹⁷⁰ Westward from Cocóspera.

to say and to hear mass at San Ambrosio del Busanic, travelling four leagues. All the justices of this new pueblo came out to welcome and to meet us with their captain called Don Marcos, whom Father Visitor Oracio Police a few years before had baptized in his church of Santa Maria de Baceraca, on the occasion when twenty-five governors, captains, and justices of this Pimeria had gone thither to ask for the necessary fathers and for holy baptism, some of them travelling more than one hundred and fifty leagues. In this pueblo or incipient mission, to which belong two other very good posts, Santa Gertrudes del Saric and San Bernardo de Aquimuri, we found a house in which to live and a little church with its altar in which to say mass, and a large church begun. We found wheat, maize, and beans, cattle, sheep and goats, more than two hundred head, and droves of mares, all of which the natives are tending very well for the father whom they ask and hope to receive. Here and in all places we gave good instruction, Christian and secular, as your Grace commanded me, and it was very well received. Four infants were baptized and a confession of the sick wife of Captain Don Marcos was heard. We killed a very fat sheep, despatched twenty-five beeves directly to San Marzelo, and set out for Santa Gertrudes del Saric, three leagues' journey, in the course of which they gave us an infant to baptize, who was named Juan Matheo Ramires, for he was my godson.¹⁷¹

"28. On the twenty-eighth, having baptized five infants, and having seen the good field of wheat which they had just sown for the Church, we set out for El Tubutama, where we arrived at midday and were received by Father Geronimo Minutuli with all kindness.

¹⁷¹ *Aijado*.

We encouraged the people in the work of building a church, many adobes were made, and the governor and *guasinques* of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores worked on the timbers and arches of the sanctuary. At the same time we supplied ourselves for our journey, on which Father Geronimo Minutuli also desired to accompany us, but his many occupations, the building, the sowing of wheat, the branding, and the fact that he had some sick people, prevented him. But his Reverence with great generosity and love supplied us with wine for masses, with wax candles, chocolate, bread and biscuit, *pinole*, mutton, and beef, and even with his own saddle-mule."

CHAPTER V. OUR DEPARTURE FROM SAN PEDRO Y
SAN PABLO DEL TUBUTAMA AND ARRIVAL
AT SAN MARCELO DEL SONOIDAG

"October 29. On October twenty-ninth, after despatching in the morning our baggage, the relay, and more than forty sumpters, we set out at midday from El Tubutama, and arrived at San Attonio del Uquitoa, the third pueblo of Father Geronimo, having passed by his second pueblo, which is that of Santa Thereza de Cavorica.^{171a}

"30. On the thirtieth we arrived, after a thirteen leagues' journey, at Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion del Cavorca, having passed by San Diego del Pitquin, where they were making adobes to finish their little church until there should be an opportunity to make a large one. At La Concepcion we found many people; and a pueblo of more than two thousand souls can be established here, on account of the very good lands and the many people in this vicinity. There are already made a decent house with a capacious hall and store-

^{171a} Commonly called Adid, or Atil.

room, a bakery with an oven, a kitchen, a little church with an altar, and a large church begun, in imitation of but larger than that of Matape. Here are cattle, sheep, and goats, and two droves of mares, with which we counted more than twenty colts, horses, and mules. There are wheat, maize, and beans, all of which these natives are tending very well for the father whom they with such insistency ask for and hope to receive.

"31. On the thirty-first, after good discourses and baptism of infants, and after a sixteen leagues' journey over level road along the coast, the captain and the fiscal mayor of Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion accompanying us, we arrived at sunset at the great ranchería of San Eduardo del Baipia, where the very friendly natives had provided for us a little house of poles and straw in which to say mass with decency, with an altar, and with crosses and arches placed along the roads; and with all punctiliousness they took care of us and pastured our horses. On November first we set out for San Luys Bertrando del Bacapa, and after a twenty leagues' journey we arrived at Vespers, the natives here having also provided for us a little house, or hermitage, in which to say mass, etc. Fray Marcos de Niza, as Torquemada asserts, reached this post of Bacapa.¹⁷²

"2. On the second, after a fourteen leagues' journey, we reached San Marcelo, arriving by this road from El Tubutama and from La Concepcion about four in the afternoon. At the very same time the cowboys were coming with the cattle which we had despatched the preceding week by a different and more direct road, from San Ambrosio del Busanic. More than seventy Indians also came at the same time with their justices,

¹⁷² Consult Torquemada, *Tercera Parte de los veinte i un Libros Rituales i Monarchia Indiana*, 358-359.

governors, and captains, from different rancherías by which our cowboys had passed. The natives of San Marcelo welcomed us with roads cleared, with crosses and arches placed thereon for the space of more than a league, and with all kindness. We found here the captain and the governor of the Yumas and the governor of the Cocomaricopas, who, being informed that we were coming, came more than seventy leagues to see us, the former from the Rio Colorado, to the northwest, and the latter from the Rio de Hila, to the north. There came also, with our vaqueros, the captain of San Ambrosio, Don Marcos, who, together with the captain of Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion, aided with great kindness and Christian zeal in giving Catholic instruction to the rest of the numerous natives who from all directions all that afternoon and night and all the next day kept coming to hear the Word of God and to see us. And since the Quiquimas of the Passage and from California had not yet arrived or been notified, we sent to get them a Pima governor of this partly formed pueblo of San Marcelo, where there was already a little church, with its very neat altar, white-washed and painted, and where they tended for Father Kino his forty head of cattle, and wheat, maize, beans, etc., for the Father whom these very affable and friendly natives were awaiting."

"3. On the third, after mass and the talks on Christian doctrine by Father Kino, and also by me as your Grace ordered me, a beef and a sheep were killed, and all the people went to sow a good field of wheat for the Church. In the afternoon many more people came from different near-by and remote rancherías, and there was discussion among the natives themselves, some encouraging others to be good Christians, etc."

CHAPTER VI. DEPARTURE FROM SAN MARCELO
AND ARRIVAL AT THE VERY HIGH PEAK OF SANTA
CLARA, AND IN VERY PLAIN VIEW OF THE LAND
PASSAGE TO CALIFORNIA, AND ARRIVAL ON OUR
RETURN AT NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS DOLORES

"NOVEMBER 4, 1706. On November ^{172a} fourth, after having said mass and despatched the many people very contended and comforted by the promise that efforts would be made to obtain for them the missionary fathers necessary, at midday we set out from San Marzelo for the good stopping place which they call El Carrizal, which is seven leagues distant.

"5. On the fifth we set out at dawn, and Father Kino went four leagues forward to say mass at a very good water-hole. We breakfasted, drank chocolate, and mounted on horseback, and, travelling ten leagues farther, arrived at a tank ^{172b} with water held in between the rocks of a very high peak which they called Serro de Santa Clara. There we ate and left the relay horses and some boys. Selecting the best mules, we ascended this very high peak, which was four leagues more in ascent. On this peak three others are piled up. We ascended the one which slopes to the south, whence was seen the sea, which was exactly to the south of us. As far as the eye could reach there was no sea ascending toward the north or the northwest, either to the eastward, from which we came, or to the westward; and we saw very plainly the connection of this our land with that of the west, which consisted of sandy beaches and little hills; and we slept on the summit of this hill, commanding a view of land for more than forty and fifty and sixty leagues distant.

"6. On the sixth, day of San Bruno, patron of Cali-

^{172a} By a slip the manuscript is made to read "October 4."

^{172b} Evidently Tinajas de Emilia. See Lumholtz, *op. cit.*, 204.

fornia, as soon as day dawned Fray Manuel de la Oyuela went down this little southern ridge and ascended the other, which was the highest of all; and we kept it between north and west, as in plain view we saw clearly again, with even more detail, what we had seen the afternoon before, and that with this continuity of both lands there is a passage by land to California. And we saw that the Sierra Madre of California runs from south to north to where the sea ends, and that a point shuts in a bay which Fray Manuel calls the estuary, because it is the mouth of the Rio Colorado, at the head of the Sea of California. From there the said Sierra Madre of California turns off from a north course and runs northwest, which is between north and west. Between south and west we sighted more than fifty leagues of continuous land in California, with its Sierra Madre. Between south and east we saw the very great bay, which probably is about ten leagues long, and has a solitary hill to the eastward, and which we named Bay of San Manuel, because Fray Manuel from the higher peak which he had ascended saw it more distinctly.

Satisfied that the sea ascended no farther to the northward than to the latitude of thirty-five degrees in which we found ourselves, we descended to where the mules were, unsaddled. We saddled them while Fray Manuel came down the other hill, and together we descended the four leagues to the tank where we had left the boys with the relay and with the commander Juan Anttonio Duran, who, being ill, had not been able to ascend the hill with us. There the father said mass in thanksgiving for the so plainly discovered certainty of the passage. We breakfasted, and after a fourteen leagues' journey we arrived at El Carrizal.

"7. On the seventh, Sunday, we arose early, and came

in time to say and hear mass to San Marzelo, where some Indians who had come to see us were awaiting us, among them being the captain of the Cocomaricopas of the Rio Grande or Rio de Yla, who had come from above from the famous and great ranchería of San Matias del Tumagacori [Tutumagoydag].

"8. On the eighth we set out from San Marzelo del Sonoydag for Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, accompanied by the captain of the Yumas, who had come from the Rio Colorado more than sixty leagues with many other justices and many other natives of these environs. On setting out they gave us three infants to baptize. After travelling ten leagues by a different road from that by which we had come, we arrived at San Raphael del Actum, where they gave us ten other little ones to baptize; and we passed on four leagues to sleep at the water hole of San Martin.

"9. On the ninth, after going nine leagues we arrived at the rancherías of Santa Biviana. Here we found that with rare loyalty they had taken care of and dried for us two of the beeves which had been left them by the cowboys, who, passing by here, took the twenty-five from San Ambrocio del Saric to San Marzelo, and we marveled at such fidelity. We divided among them the meat and hides, and, having spoken to them the word of God, they agreed that all wished to be Christians, and gave us eight infants to baptize, promising us that they would assemble wherever there should be a father. They gave us many of their viands, *pinole* of maize, beans, pumpkins, and mesquite; and we passed on to another ranchería about five leagues farther on.

"10. On the tenth, upon our departure from this place, the governor brought us to be baptized a little girl, suffering and dying, and who without doubt would

go very shortly to be happy in God. And after a twelve leagues' journey we arrived at San Estanislao del Oot-eam, where we found a little church, or chapel, of adobe.

"11-13. There on the eleventh the governor and other justices gave us nine infants to baptize, and at midday, after an eight leagues' journey we arrived at San Ambrocio del Busanic. We killed a fat beef and a sheep, and wrote to the fathers of El Tubutama and San Ygnacio. They gave us some infants to baptize; we arrived at Tubutama; on the thirteenth we rested and built.

"14. On the fourteenth we arrived at Santa Maria Magdalena, where Father Agustin de Campos treated us with kindness, as did Father Geronimo Minutuli at El Tubutama.

"15. On the fifteenth Father Kino gave orders that some timbers should be made for the building of the sanctuary of the new church; and in the afternoon we set out, to spend the night at San Joseph de Himires, third pueblo of the administration of Father Agustin.

"16. On the sixteenth we arrived at midday at Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, and in the afternoon at Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. Having baptized more than fifty infants, we have seen, besides the land passage to California, beyond the pueblo of El Tubutama, more than 200[o] Indians, men and women, in round numbers. Most of the land is good and fertile, with irrigation ditches for making large and good pueblos with sufficient water, by gathering together the people that are in various rancherías. And because it is the truth we have signed it, Father Eusevio Francisco Kino and Fray Manuel Oyuela and I, Alférez Juan Matheo Ramires, and the squadron commander

Juan Anttonio Duran, at Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, November 18, 1706."

Thus far Alférez Juan Matheo Ramires. And just when this diary was to pass to General Don Jacinto de Fuenzaldaña, in order that, Christianly authorized by his hand, it should pass, for the good of many souls, with papers of his to Mexico and even to Spain, we found to our great sorrow that God our Lord had just taken him to himself.

CHAPTER VII. SEPARATE CERTIFICATION BY FRAY MANUEL DE LA OYUELA, OF THE SACRED ORDER OF THE SERAPHIC SAN FRANCISCO, OF HAVING SEEN THE LAND PASSAGE TO CALIFORNIA. IT IS AS FOLLOWS

"I, Fray Manuel de Oyuela, religious of the Order of Our Father San Francisco, of the province of Guadalajara, declare that, having set out from the mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores on October 22, 1706, in company with Father Eusevio Francisco Kino, missionary in said mission, Alférez Juan Matheo Ramires, and Squadron Commander Juan Anttonio Duran, sent by his captain in company with said Father to see, explore, and examine the extremity and head of the Sea of California, to make the due report for whatever may in future be expedient; and, after having travelled long days' journeys, as of fourteen, sixteen, and twenty leagues, and having seen incipient pueblos, and in them churches begun, some one *estado*¹⁷³ high and others more or less, and having seen many and very good lands, and all with irrigation, an abundance of water, and a variety of irrigation ditches, I hereby certify that I have never seen so many before with their fields of maize and wheat, whereby one recognizes that the

¹⁷³ An *estado* is a unit of measurement the height of a man.

natives are very industrious and laborious in comparison with other nations. And in all parts they generally welcomed us with all appreciation and reverence, giving us of their provisions.

"We were in Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion del Cavorca, where Father Francisco Xavier Saeta happily gave his life, paying the penalty for the sins of others in imitation of our great Master and Lord. There is a large part of the church made, a hall, a lodging and kitchen, and a bakery and oven. It is one of the best places that I have seen, because its plains are so large and so fertile, and carry the water to all parts by means of irrigation ditches which they have made for that purpose.

"Next come fifty leagues with little water, because it is along the sea coast, which we travelled in three days, or a little less, for we arrived at San Marcelo about four in the afternoon, where they received us with arches and crosses and roads very well cleared for more than a league. There is a chapel and a lodge. It is a very good place, with a perennial creek of water, a field of wheat, and a few cattle, sheep, and goats. Hither came many captains of various rancherías and of the Yuma and Opa and Cocomaricopa nations, who live on the Rio Grande and Rio Colorado, sixty and eighty leagues distant. The Indians from the outside who assembled here exceeded three hundred, most of them being without more clothing than that given them by nature.

"Here as in the other places Father Eusevio Francisco Kino made them a fervent discourse. So effective was it that two of the captains told him that since he had deprived them of so much good he ought to baptize them. The father replied that it was necessary first to

instruct them, and therefore some went to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores to be catechised and instructed. We were there a day and a half, where I saw a thing very worthy of pondering over in a people so ignorant, namely, that after the father preached to them one of their captains continued warning them with such force and energy that it seems that the Lord must have given him words to enable him to speak so long, for he harangued them for a space of two hours, a thing difficult even for a great preacher. Afterward another took up the thread and continued in the other languages. In this manner day dawned upon them; and the following night it was the same.

"In the afternoon we set out to continue our way, and after having travelled twenty-five leagues we arrived at a very great mountain called Santa Clara. It is large, and at its extreme summit there are three others piled up. One slopes to the south, another to the east, and the third and largest one to the west, because they are in a triangle. The afternoon that we arrived we ascended the peak that sloped to the south, because it is the easiest to ascend, and from it we saw the Sea of California, its mountain chains, and the great sandy beach where the sea ends. We could not see with all detail because night soon fell upon us, and there we slept that night. The next morning, as soon as day dawned, I descended in all haste with a determination to ascend the highest peak, which is to the westward, in order to be able to see more from its summit. I did so at the cost of very great toil, because it was so high, and was a sort of rubbish-heap of *tlesontle* stone, as is all this very great hill, so that I seemed likely to end my life sooner than the undertaking. Our Lord was pleased that I should reach its summit, and from it I saw, looking from this

side and to the southwest, a great bay, which is probably about ten leagues from west to east, and at the east end of it a hill, extending from this bay to the northward, which is the way the sea turns to form a harbor, as it were, three or four leagues in a circuit, with a little ridge to the south and another to the north, twenty-five leagues from the bay; and in all this distance it forms a sandy beach of half a league wide.

"To the north and northwest of this coast there is, along the head of the Sea of California, a very great sandy beach of more than sixty leagues in compass or circuit, with some little hills;¹⁷⁴ and to the west of the above mentioned port the head of said bay, with another bay, makes a form like the extremity of the right foot of a man, the bay being where the great toe is, and being next to the mouth of the very large volumed Rio Colorado which enters into the sea to the eastward and makes a great *Ria*¹⁷⁵ (for so in our Castilian tongue they call the mouths of the rivers), which indeed is neither fresh water nor salt. So great is this estuary that very large ships can enter, even though they be the royal ships of Spain. It afterwards empties to the northwestward. The same Rio Colorado then forms a very large island more than forty leagues in circuit, all of very fertile lands and very thickly populated with Indians, which the Rio Colorado waters as the Nile bathes Egypt, giving it very great fertility. And looking to the east from said Serro de Santa Clara, at more than fifty leagues' distance one sees the range which they call El Gigante, and to the northward some very great plains, although with some occasional hills, the

¹⁷⁴ Compare the legend "Medanos de Arena" on the Kino map of 1705.

¹⁷⁵ Estuary.

view extending about sixty leagues to the northwest. Above rises the Sierra Madre of California, and I was able to see by that course about fifty or sixty leagues.

"To the westward, at the end of the sea or beginning of the above mentioned estuary, or mouth, of the Rio Colorado, the Sierra of California forms, as it were, a point which juts out toward the east, and which is at the distance of about fourteen or fifteen leagues from where I was; for I could estimate them by the sun which was reflected from the rocks. Coming down a little from the west to the south I was able to see more than fifty-eight or sixty leagues of California oversea, and that the California of the northwest has a sea to the eastward. Therefore California is not an island but only a peninsula, as long since very well and correctly has been said and written by Father Eusebio Francisco Kino who took us that we might be witnesses of this truth. From the foregoing I have seen that the heretic Drake is author of the lie whereby he will have it that this Sea of California ascends to the North Sea, wishing to discredit the ancient Spaniards who depicted California as *terra firma* with this land, as it really is; but he is well punished in this life and also in the next, dying here in Galicia¹⁷⁶ at the hand of a Spaniard, and paying there in Inferno forever for his evil deeds.

"Because of this malevolent heretic so many of us have toiled so much, and there are even some who, without more reason than their depraved mind, say that on one side the sea enters between the hills and joins the South Sea, the reasoning more of a depraved will than of a sincere understanding, as if the sea were some changeling which can betake itself to hide where it

¹⁷⁶ Father Oyuela was manifestly not well-informed regarding Drake's earthly career.

will; but we know that even the above mentioned heretic, in order to make California an island, depicts its sea as a continuous strip running to the northwest, without making any turn in any direction; but if such a sea did flow into the South Sea, those who with care have mapped the opposite coast of California would tell of it. And always, as Father Kino says, California Alta will remain *terra firma* with this land, for there is no printed map which says a thing like this.

"The next day, which was November 6, we descended from the two piled-up hills. Saddling our mules, we descended to the tank where the preceding day we had left our boys and the relays. The father said mass, we ate, and mounted our horses. Turning back to San Marsselo, we arrived the next day, Sunday, to say mass; and the next day we set out, returning by a different route past some rancherías, which gave us some infants to baptize. And in this journey there were more than fifty baptisms of infants and of dying persons, etc. This is the truth concerning everything which I have seen, and concerning which I shall be able to swear and will swear whenever there may be necessity therefor, once and a thousand times. And since it is the truth, I sign it at this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, Nov. 29, 1706.

"FRAY MANUEL DE LA OYUELA Y VELARDE."

CHAPTER VIII. LETTER OF FATHER RECTOR MELCHOR BARTIROMO IN REGARD TO THE GREAT PLEASURE WHICH HIS REVERENCE AND OTHER PERSONS HAVE HAD IN THESE ABOVE RELATED MISSIONS, OR JOURNEYS, TO THE LAND PASSAGE TO CALIFORNIA

As soon as our Fray Manuel de la Oyuela and Alférez Juan Mateo Ramires and I reported our journey to the father rector of this mission, his Reverence on December 10 wrote me the following:

With infinite pleasure to myself I am this afternoon in receipt of your Reverence's letter of the fourth instant, and I can not write this except in little pieces, because the abundance of tears for joy at the good news of the conversion of so many souls impedes me at times. And so I can say that it is written more with tears than with ink, yet not with tears of pain, but of joy, for our Lady of Sorrows wished the sorrows for herself and the comfort and pleasure for her children, who are indebted also for the beginnings of the salvation of so many nations. God reward your Reverence for it, whom with holy envy from here I imagine very comforted and very much pleased that our Lady permits your Reverence all those labors and the steps which you take and took for her holy glory and the good of her souls. *Dominus sit tibi merces magna nimis.*¹⁷⁷ Perhaps some day I too shall have the happiness of being myself in those countries, suffering that which I deserve, and laboring for the glory of the Lord, although my great sins render me unworthy even of these.

A few days afterward, on December seventeenth, his Reverence wrote me the following words:

I have found a world map which shows California as *terra firma*. It was printed in Rome in the year 1602. The author is Arnodo di Alnoldi Tiamengo. Your Reverence shall see it over here, for I have put it together with new paper. I had it with my books in a chest.

Thus far the father rector of this mission, Melchor

¹⁷⁷ "The Lord be to thee a reward exceeding great" (see *Genesis*, xv, i).

Bartiromo. Many other fathers and secular gentlemen have written other things somewhat similar. The father rector at Matape, Adamo Jil,¹⁷⁸ on December 30 adds the following:

Father Castner,¹⁷⁹ who, like Father Vaname¹⁸⁰ has just written me from Great China, has arrived safely at Rome in the office of ambassador or procurator of that kingdom of Tartary. He is of your Reverence's province of Bavaria and of upper Germany. He is very much beloved of the Chinese and greatly beloved as a very zealous, apostolic, missionary laborer in the Island of Ssanchon.¹⁸¹

General Juan Fernandes de la Fuente on December 19 wrote me the following:

I rejoice infinitely at the new journey which you have just made to the land passage to California with Alférez Juan Mateo Ramires, Commander Juan Antonio Duran, and Fray Manuel de la Oyuela; and that your Reverence and all the foregoing persons went, came, and returned in safety, etc.

CHAPTER IX. OF THE FOUNDING OF A VILLA IN THESE NEW CONVERSIONS, WHICH IS CONSIDERED IN THE LATTER PART OF 1706 AND THE BEGINNING OF 1707

Many persons very zealous in the service of both Majesties were of the opinion at this time that [a villa should be founded] in these new conversions, for their advancement and at the same time for the total relief of this province of Sonora, which so many years has been so infested by the hostile Hocomes, Janos, and Apaches.¹⁸² Father Anttonio Leal, who a few years before had been visitor of these missions of Sonora and formerly had been visitor of the missions of Ssinaloa,

¹⁷⁸ Adam Gilg.

¹⁷⁹ See volume i, 79, footnote 58.

¹⁸⁰ Van Hame. See volume i, 78, footnote 53.

¹⁸¹ Sanchon, one of the Marianas Islands.

¹⁸² There is apparently an omission in the Ms. here.

being informed of this plan to found a new villa in the vicinity of this province, wrote that if it were accomplished it would be even more advantageous than a presidio, and that although it had not been possible to effect it hitherto, it would be a most desirable thing and extremely advantageous, and that he had tried for and sought it for many years.¹⁸³

Many other fathers and also many secular gentlemen, alcalde mayors and lieutenants, were of the same opinion; and there were many persons who offered to go personally at their own cost and expense to be colonists of the said villa, because the plan was to found it in lands very fertile and very suitable for every purpose. And many missionary fathers, as well as seculars, offered very substantial aid in cattle, provisions, clothing, silver, etc., for the colonists of the villa and for its foundation, and what different well-wishers offered to contribute already amounted to more than fifteen thousand *pesos*.

The actual father visitor, Franssisco Maria Picolo, on November 10 wrote me from San Joseph de Guaymas the following:

The founding of the villa seems to me very well worth while, and, God giving me health and strength, I shall go, if the case requires, to raise the walls and to aid with my hands, for I love the Pimeria dearly.

General Juan Fernandes de la Fuente on October 6 wrote me the following letter from his hacienda of Santa Barbara:

I have seen that your Reverence has received my letters, and that Father Rector Melchor Bartiromo approves my advice in the matter of the founding of a villa, which it is intended to establish among so many and so extensive nations. And I well believe that, because of its great importance for the relief of

¹⁸³ See *ante*, page 184, for Manje's opinion on this point.

so many millions¹⁸⁴ of souls as are in need of holy baptism, all the reverend missionary fathers of this province will take heart and rejoice, and that they will aid as much as they can and ought toward an undertaking of so great importance, and in which the two Majesties are so interested. And, God willing that the villa be founded, we may promise ourselves that the holy Gospel will be propagated through the many nations that are discovered and the very many more that will be discovered in future, for without doubt there will be another new world and a very happy Christendom, because of the natural good qualities manifested by those discovered, for they are already accustomed to sustain themselves by the sweat of their brows and to live in open country¹⁸⁵ and in the form of pueblos, in efforts to secure which most generally consist the toils and mortifications of the missionaries and new colonists, whereas in those children these arduous difficulties are found already conquered. If I had known that your Reverence was coming to Santa Maria de Basseraca so soon I should have gone in company with his Reverence, Father Oracio Polisse, who is more than full of experience and knowledge of Indians, to wait for you, in order to confer in regard to what might appear most expedient.

Your Reverence, with your accustomed Christian and apostolic zeal, has gained the good will of all the principal men of those extensive nations; and well I believe that Captains Coro and Pacheco, many others of the interior, and the Ssobaipuris, will help us to penetrate to the Quiquimas, who are on the land passage to California. And I rejoice more than anyone else that at the Feast of our Lady of September^{185a} which your Reverence celebrated, so great a number of Christians and heathen were present; for it was proposed to me and was very proper that the deputy alcalde mayor and royal justice of that jurisdiction should certify what number were coming, and were present, and what messengers and messages came from remote parts with good words, whereby it is recognized that they de-

¹⁸⁴ *Millón* is used to express an indefinitely large number.

¹⁸⁵ As opposed to dwelling in the mountains, as was the case with the Apaches.

^{185a} Feast of the nativity of the Blessed Virgin, September 8.

sire that the holy Gospel should enter into their lands. May the Divine Majesty grant that we may succeed in seeing them reduced to the royal obedience and to the bosom of our Holy Faith, which is what I most desire, etc. And as his Royal Majesty aids an enterprise of such consequence with something, I shall on my part, immediately sacrifice my life and my estate in this his royal service, etc.

Thus far General Juan Fernandes de la Fuente, who with this and many other Christian letters manifests clearly how great he is, and how Catholic is his zeal for the service of both majesties, joined with such long experience as he has continually been acquiring in the service of his Royal Majesty, as is well known, he having served thirty years in his kingdom of New Galicia and in the fleets of Spain, without having asked any reward or post, and to all appearance attending only to the royal service and to the fulfillment of his duties in the extension of the royal dominions, by reducing and pacifying and granting those prayers of Taraumares and of other places, etc., for which our Lord will grant that his Royal Majesty, God save him, as well as our father superiors of our Holy Mother the Company, will be pleased to aid us when it is most expedient, particularly with the many and very necessary apostolic missionary fathers whom we need, since we have already discovered for them a wealth of souls and since those which are being discovered are so numerous and so ripe, for they are so many that rightly and well says the above mentioned Governor Juan Fernandes de la Fuente (very deserving of the government of this kingdom of New Navarre, if such should be the pleasure of his Royal Majesty, God save him) that in these new conquests a new world will be found and a very happy new Christendom will be secured. It will be well that it be promoted, and since said Señor general in another letter

which I cited above, recognizes at the same time that much more is accomplished through pious and charitable works of apostolic missionaries than by many arquebuses, and that in this way at very moderate expense to the royal treasury the new conquests and new conversions can be perfected, since already they have advanced so far, we hope to obtain the boon that by the celestial favors of our Lord all this North America is to be very happily converted. May his Divine Majesty grant it. Amen.

PART V

OF THE CELESTIAL FAVORS OF
Jesus and Mary Most Holy, and of the
Most Glorious Apostle of the Indies,
San Francisco Xavier, Experienced in
These New Conquests and New Con-
versions of These New Nations of This
Unknown North America. Although
in This Fifth Part the History of the
Years 1707, 1708, and 1709 might be
Continued, in its Place in this Last
Part is put a Long Report of the Very
Great Good which, with Immense
Service to Both Majesties, even at Very
Little Cost to the Royal Treasury, can
be Obtained, and of the Many Tem-
poral Means which Our Lord with His
Celestial Favors gives us Lavishly in
These Very Fertile New Lands.

PROLOGUE TO THE CHARITABLE READER

It is true that this treatise might continue, and my intention was in this fifth part to continue the history of the celestial favors experienced in these new conversions, and to relate what happened in the following years, 1707, 1708, and 1709. But as most of it reduces itself to the accustomed delays and grievous detentions of the missionary fathers and laborers so necessary for the harvest of souls, so extensive, so seasoned, and so very ripe, which hitherto in the preceding years has been noted, it has seemed to me more expedient to place in this fifth and last part the long report,¹⁸⁶ divided into four books and they into their chapters, which, by suggestion of my greater superiors and other important persons, zealous for the service of both Majesties, I have made in the course of recent months, the intention being to give a more complete account of what can contribute most to the total conquest and conversion of all this most extensive North America which hitherto has been considered as unknown. It will be sufficient for the time being to say here that in all these years, thanks to His Divine Majesty and to His celestial favors, all these very extensive new nations of more than six hundred leagues in circuit have maintained and now main-

¹⁸⁶ Part v was originally not written as a portion of the *Favores Celestiales*, but was incorporated in Kino's last days as a suitable conclusion. It is a report to the king, finished in 1710, the year before Kino's death, and consists of an extended argument in favor of the promotion of further conquests in California and other parts of the northern country, with a view to the establishment of a new kingdom to be called "New Navarre."

tain themselves in very quiet, pacific, friendly and good state.

DEDICATION ¹⁸⁷ TO HIS SACRED, ROYAL MAJESTY,
PHILIP V., GOD PRESERVE HIM MANY YEARS

Your royal Majesty has ordered in your very Catholic cédula of July 17, 1701, which my father provincial of this New Spain, as well as the father visitor of these missions of Sonora, sent me in printed form (in it being printed my name, though I do not deserve it, and the name of Father Juan María de Salvatierra), that report be made to your royal Majesty of the location and state of the heathen communities of this province of Sonora; therefore, with this report unknown North America places itself at the sacred feet of your royal Majesty, for by means of more than two hundred leagues of new conquests and new conversions, which have a compass or circumference of more than six hundred leagues and contain very fertile lands and new nations already very friendly, discovered in these last twenty-three years by the fathers of the Company of Jesus in more than fifty expeditions or missions to the northeast, northwest, and west, some of which have been of fifty, seventy, ninety, one hundred, one hundred and fifty, two hundred and more leagues, all these many nations now remain very well reduced. And they ask for fathers and holy baptism, and it would seem that they know very well what our Holy Mother, the Church, says to them on the first feast day in May, day of San Felipe and Santiago, namely *Gentiles Salvatorem*

¹⁸⁷ This Part V, excepting the title-page and the Prologue, was first printed in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706*, 433-464. That translation is here reproduced, with minor changes, and with the restoration of the chapter headings, which were there omitted. It is seen that this report may be regarded as a companion to that of Picolo made just eight years earlier, both being in response to the cédula of July 17, 1701.

*videre cupientes ad Philipum accesserunt.*¹⁸⁸ And if in those times there was an apostolic Philip to whom the Gentiles drew near, it is very notorious that today also we have (and we of this unknown North America know it) our very grand and Catholic monarch Philip to whom these innumerable Gentiles come.

May the sovereign Lord of the heavens preserve the life of your royal Majesty many happy years. Mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, February 2, 1710. The sacred feet of your royal Majesty are kissed by your humble chaplain, EUSEBIO FRANCISCO KINO.

¹⁸⁸ "The Gentiles, desiring to see the Savior, came to Philip" (*Roman Breviary*, lesson iv, Feast of Sts. Philip and James, apostles).

Report and Relation of the New Conversions of This North America,¹⁸⁹ which Comprise more than Two Hundred Leagues of Fertile Country, and Extend to the Recently Discovered Land Passage¹⁹⁰ to California, which is not an Island but a Peninsula, and is Very Populous, and to the Very Large Rio Colorado, which is the True Rio del Norte of the Ancients; with New Maps of These Nations and of This North America, which hitherto has been Regarded as Unknown. Likewise, of the Very Great Advantage to Both Majesties which even at Small Cost to the Royal Treasury can be obtained by Sending Father Laborers in the Royal Service to These New Conversions, in which, in the Opinion of Prudent Persons, can be Formed a New Kingdom, which might be called Kingdom of New Navarre. By Father Eusevio Francisco Kino, of the Company of Jesus, Missionary for More than Twenty-five¹⁹¹ Years in the Missions of California and These New Missions and Conversions of This Province of Sonora.

¹⁸⁹ That is, of this part of North America.

¹⁹⁰ He refers to his own discoveries between 1699 and 1706.

¹⁹¹ He came to California in 1683, hence about twenty-seven years before writing this report.

BOOK I. OF THE MOTIVES FOR WRITING THIS REPORT AND RELATION

CHAPTER I. OF THE ROYAL *CÉDULA* OF PHILIP THE FIFTH

For days and years many persons have asked of me maps, reports, and accounts of these new conversions, and although on various occasions I have given reports, at present they are pressing me more urgently, some of them alleging first the royal *cédula* of his Majesty, God preserve him, of July 17, 1701, which orders that report be made to him of the state of California, (which has been very well done by the printed report of Father Francisco Maria Picolo) and of the "state and location of these heathen Indians of these provinces of Sonora."

CHAPTER II. OF THE LETTERS OF OUR FATHER GENERAL THYRZO GONZALES

In different letters our father-general, Thyrzo Gonzales, with other superiors, has asked of me reports of all edifying incidents that might happen, and of the celestial favors of our Lord which we might experience in these new conversions, since they are always a source of comfort to our people, in Europe especially, and of edification to those in foreign lands.

CHAPTER III. OPINION AND LETTER OF FRAY MANUEL DE LA OYUELA

Fray Manuel de la Oyuela, of the Sacred Order of the Seraphic Father San Francisco, having a little more than a year ago¹⁹² come from his holy monastery of Gua-

¹⁹² Since the incident referred to occurred in October-November, 1706,

dalaxara to these provinces of Sonora and to these new conversions, to ask alms, went with me on an expedition far enough to plainly sight the land route to California from the very high hill of Santa Clara, which is north of the head of the Sea of California, traversing in going and returning more than two hundred and fifty leagues of these fertile lands, among Indians so friendly, affable, and industrious that his Reverence said that in these new conquests and extensive new conversions a new kingdom could and should be founded. To this I replied that if this should come to pass I should rejoice if it were called New Navarre, in honor of the blessed land of the most glorious apostle of the Indies, San Francisco Xavier, my great patron, as other kingdoms are named New Viscaia, New Galicia, etc. Afterward, while on the way to Guadalaxara, within the last few months, his Reverence wrote me that if I did not make report of the ripeness of so great a harvest of souls an account of them would be required of me in the tribunal of God.

CHAPTER IV. LETTER OF THE FATHER RECTOR, JUAN DE HURTASSAN

Two months ago Father Juan de Hurtassan, rector of the College of Vera Crus, wrote me the following:

MY FATHER EUSEVIO FRANCISCO KINO, from Spain persons to whom I can not excuse myself are writing me, asking for an exact account of the provinces which your Reverence has discovered, to what degree of latitude and longitude they extend, the disposition of the nations, what rivers and lands they comprise, especially those which slope to California from south to north, and whether California is an island or a peninsula, or which view is more probable; what reports there are of the kingdom of La Quivira, in what latitude it is found, how far

this report must have been begun in 1707 or 1708, though it was not finished till 1710. The expedition is described in this volume, pages 193-213.

it is to the land of Jesso,¹⁹³ in that region, whether any rivers run into the Sea of the North, or all empty in the Sea of California, and, in fine, everything touching this matter; for they write me that upon this question there is now much controversy in Madrid, with a variety of opinions. If everything can be shown on the map, so much the better. I have no doubt your Reverence will take this trouble; and, as I conjecture, perhaps it will contribute to the glory of God.¹⁹⁴

CHAPTER V. LETTER OF THE FATHER PROVINCIAL JUAN DE ESTRADA

Some three weeks ago I received a very courteous and long letter from my father provincial of this New Spain, Juan de Estrada,¹⁹⁵ in which his Reverence, among other things, writes me the following:

In regard to your Reverence's coming to Mexico to print the map, you will be needed in that Pimería and new Christendom and catechumenical heathendom. We see that they print relations and maps of less consequence in France; and your Reverence may judge whether a map of more consequence and novelty, accompanied by some brief relation, with arguments and documents showing that the Californias are only peninsulas, will make the printers of France more eager to make the map and print the written relation. I have found out that the Father Rector, Juan de Hurtassum, asks your Reverence for those maps that they may be printed in France, whence they are asking for them and for reports of the new conversions and lands, to put it all into print.

Thus far the letter of my father provincial and the reasons for writing this brief report.

¹⁹³ For note on Jesso see volume i, 360, *footnote*.

¹⁹⁴ This passage illustrates the lively interest taken in Kino's explorations.

¹⁹⁵ Estrada became acting provincial in Nov., 1707. See volume i, 92, *footnote*.

BOOK II. BEGINNINGS AND PROGRESS OF THE NEW CONQUESTS AND NEW CONVER- SIONS OF THE HEATHENDOMS OF THIS EXTENSIVE PIMERIA AND THE OTHER NEIGHBORING NEW NATIONS

CHAPTER I. OF THE IMMENSE CATHOLIC AND LOYAL EXPENDITURES WHICH HAVE BEEN MADE FOR ALMOST TWO WHOLE CENTURIES IN THE VA- RIOUS NAVIGATIONS AND EXPEDITIONS TO THE CALIFORNIAS, WHEREFROM NOW, HOWEVER, ARE HAPPILY ORIGINATING THESE NEW CON- QUESTS AND NEW CONVERSIONS OF THIS NORTH AMERICA

It is well known that during almost two whole centuries the royal Catholic crown of Spain has spent more than two millions and a half for new conquests and new conversions and for the extension of the Holy Evangel, and for the eternal salvation of the souls of the Californias; but it appears that, thanks to His Divine Majesty, the blessed time is now coming when not only the conquest and conversion of the Californias is being accomplished, but also at the same time that of these other neighboring extensive lands and nations of this North America, most of which has hitherto been unknown, and when the Lord is providing for the rather poor lands of the Californias the necessary aid of these very extensive and rich lands, abundant champaigns, and fertile rivers and valleys.

VARIOUS VOYAGES AND EXPEDITIONS TO THE CALIFORNIAS. The immense but very Catholic expenditures

above mentioned, which the sovereign Lord always most liberally repays, have been those for the various navigations and expeditions following:¹⁹⁶

1533. In the year 1533 Don Fernando Cortes, eleven years after having conquered Mexico, discovered California and entered into the port of Nuestra Señora de la Paz.¹⁹⁷

1535. In 1535 Don Antonio Mendosa, first viceroy of this New Spain, sent to California General Francisco de Alarcon with twelve other high-decked ships, which, however, were all lost.¹⁹⁸

1597. In 1597 Sebastian Biscaino¹⁹⁹ went at his own expense to California with five religious of the Order of San Francisco.

1602. In 1602 he went a second time at the expense of Philip the Third, with three religious of Nuestra Señora del Carmen, the Count of Monte Rey being viceroy.²⁰⁰

1606. In 1606 there came to him a royal *cédula* that he should go to colonize the port of Monte Rey, which, however, his death prevented.^{200a}

1615. In 1615 Captain Juan Yturbi went with one ship.

1632-1633. In the years 1632, 1633, and a little later, Captain Francisco de Ortega went to California a first, second, and third time.

1636. About the year 1636 Captain Carboneli went.

¹⁹⁶ The date numerals in this chapter are marginal in the original, and were not reproduced in the translation printed in Bolton, *Spanish Explorations in the Southwest*.

¹⁹⁷ Jiménez, sent out by Cortés, discovered the Peninsula of California in 1533.

¹⁹⁸ Cortés attempted to found a colony on the Peninsula in 1535; Alarcón's voyage was in 1540.

¹⁹⁹ Vizcaino.

²⁰⁰ This was the famous expedition during which Monterey Bay was discovered.

^{200a} This is a mistake. Vizcaino lived several years after 1606.

1642. In 1642 Captain Luis Cestín de Cañas went, taking with him Father Jacinto Cortes, of the Company of Jesus.

1643-1644. In 1643 and 1644 Philip the Fourth sent Admiral Don Pedro Porter Casanate.

1648-1649. In 1648 and 1649 he went a second time, taking with him Father Jasinto Cortes and Father Andres Baes, of the Company of Jesus.

1664-1667. In 1664, at the expense of his royal Majesty, Philip the Fourth, Admiral Don Bernardo Bernal de Piñadero went the first time, and in 1667 he went the second time, with borrowed money.

1668. In 1668 Captain Francisco Lusenilla went to California with two religious of the Order of San Francisco.²⁰¹

CHAPTER II. IN OUR TIME ALSO ARE CONTINUED THE CATHOLIC ROYAL EXPENDITURES FOR THE CONQUEST AND CONVERSION OF THE SOULS OF CALIFORNIA, AND OUR LORD COMPENSATES AND REWARDS THEM

In the years 1681, 1682, 1683, 1684, and 1685, at a cost to the royal treasury of more than half a million,²⁰² by order of Don Carlos the Second, Admiral Don Ysidro de Atondo y Antillon, having built three ships, captain's ship, admiral's ship, and tender, in the Sinaloa River, went with the necessary soldiers and mariners to California; at the same time we three missionary fathers of the Company of Jesus went also, I going with the offices of rector of that mission and cosmographer of his Majesty. In pursuance of that enterprise we were some months at the post and bay of Nuestra

²⁰¹ For accounts of the foregoing voyages see Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, vol. i, chap. vii-viii, and authorities therein cited; Venegas, *Noticia de la California*, *passim*; Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, 1542-1706, 1-134, and this work, volume i, 217-222.

²⁰² Only a quarter of a million in fact.

Señora de la Paz, in latitude twenty-four degrees, and more than a year at the Real de San Bruno, in latitude twenty-six degrees, whence we went to the opposite coast and the Sea of the South, about fifty leagues' journey. We left about four hundred souls reduced. And we having come to the harbor of Matanchel, of Nueva Galicia, to supply ourselves with some things which we needed, the Señor viceroy, Don Thomas, Marqués de la Laguna, sent us to meet and warn and rescue the China ship, since at the same time the Pichilingues, pirates, were waiting for the ship in the port of La Navidad in order to rob it. Meeting her within two days, thanks be to the Lord, and putting to sea with her, so that she might neither come to land nor be seen by the enemies who were in the port of La Navidad, we all arrived in safety at the port of Acapulco, leaving the pirates mocked, and our Lord having rescued four or five millions for the royal crown and his loyal vassals, without loss, in reward of the very Catholic expenditures which the royal monarchy makes in honor of His Divine Majesty and for the good of countless souls.²⁰³

We have also seen and we now see, at this very same time, and in the very years and months of the expenditures for this above mentioned enterprise of California, how God our Lord granted the discovery of the very rich mines of the camps which they call Los Frailes, Los Alamos, and Guadalupe.²⁰⁴ These posts are opposite, near to, and on the same parallels of twenty-five and twenty-six degrees as California, which through those Catholic expenditures was intended to be con-

²⁰³ For an account of the efforts of Atondo y Antillón in Lower California, see volume i, 37-49.

²⁰⁴ Los Alamos is on the Río de Alamos about halfway between the Río Fuerte and the Río Mayo. Guadalupe was on the Río Mayo north of present town of Alamos. The Real de Los Frailes was about ten miles southwest of the present town of Alamos.

quered and is being conquered for our holy Catholic faith.

The very richly laden China ship, or Philippine galleon, having unloaded, most of us went with the admiral from the port of Acapulco to the City of Mexico.²⁰⁵ There, within a few days, we having conferred in regard to the most suitable means for continuing the conquest and conversion of California, an appropriation of thirty thousand *pesos* was assigned to us; but the same week, when eighty thousand *pesos* had just come from Zacatecas and they were about to give it to us and let us go, a ship came from Spain, which, with a most pressing order, asked five hundred thousand *pesos*, even though it might be borrowed, in order thereby to repay at once the damages done to a richly laden French ship which a few years before had gone to the bottom of the Bay of Cadiz.^{205a} Thereupon the conquest and conversion of California were suspended.

CHAPTER III. ON THE OCCASION WHEN THE CONQUEST AND CONVERSION OF CALIFORNIA IS SUSPENDED, ALMOST WITHOUT WISH OR WITHOUT THOUGHT OF IT A BEGINNING IS MADE OF THESE VERY EXTENSIVE NEW CONQUESTS AND NEW CONVERSIONS OF THIS UNKNOWN NORTH AMERICA

As soon as I knew that the conversion of coveted California was suspended, I asked and obtained from my superiors and his Excellency permission to come meanwhile to these heathen coasts nearest to and most in sight of California, to the Guaimas and Seris;²⁰⁶ and

²⁰⁵ Here Kino continues his story of his journey to Mexico after they conducted the galleon to Acapulco.

^{205a} Compare Dunn, W. E., *Spanish and French rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States, 1678-1702*, 41.

²⁰⁶ He left Mexico, November 20, 1686. This is the most explicit explanation which I have seen of Kino's change of plan.

I having arrived at the end of February, 1687, in this province of Sonora, and gone to Opossura to see the Father Visitor, Manuel Gonzales, his Reverence came with me to this post of heathen Pimas, as the father of Cucurpe, near by, Joseph de Aguilar, was asking of him a father for them. We named the place Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. It is in thirty-two degrees and a half of latitude.²⁰⁷ We entered March 12,²⁰⁸ 1687, accompanied by Father Joseph de Aguilar and his servants; and the father visitor returning the following day to observe Holy Week in his pueblos, I went inland two hours after his departure with said Father Joseph de Aguilar and some guides, going ten leagues beyond Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, toward the west, to the good post and valley which we named San Ygnacio, where we found even more people, although they were somewhat scattered. We returned by the north through the ranchería of Himeres, which we named San Joseph, and through that of Doagibubig, which we named Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, which rancherías immediately, thanks be to the Lord, we began reducing to good new pueblos, making a beginning of teaching them the Christian doctrine and prayers, by means of a good interpreter and a good native helper,²⁰⁹ whom I procured from the old Pima mission of Los Ures,²¹⁰ and of the building of the churches and house, of crops, etc.

Afterward I made other missions, or expeditions, to the north and farther to the west, and despatched friendly messages, inviting all the heathen of these environs to receive our holy Catholic faith for their eter-

²⁰⁷ This indicates that in his journey of 1706 he went a degree and a half south to 31° — i.e. 90 miles.

²⁰⁸ He elsewhere gives the date as the thirteenth. See volume i, 110.

²⁰⁹ *Temastían*.

²¹⁰ This was quite in keeping with the custom of utilizing civilized Indians from the older mission to aid in subduing new converts.

nal salvation, in imitation of these Pimas, their relatives and countrymen. Soon many came from various parts to see me for this purpose, and we arranged for the beginning of other new missions and pueblos. There came to see and to visit us, with great comfort on our part and his, Father Manuel Gonzales. He asked and obtained, through the Señor alcalde mayor, four additional alms from the royal chest, for four other new missions for this extensive Pimeria; and four other missionary fathers came to it at the time when I dedicated this my first and capacious church of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores.²¹¹

CHAPTER IV. IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE GOOD BEGINNING IS MADE OF THESE NEW CONQUESTS AND NEW CONVERSIONS IN THIS *TERRA FIRMA* OF THIS NORTH AMERICA, THE CONQUEST AND CONVERSION OF CALIFORNIA BY MEANS OF THE INDUFATIGABLE APOSTOLIC INDUSTRY, LABORS, AND HOLY ZEAL OF FATHER JUAN MARIA DE SALVATIERRA ARE BEGUN AND HAPPILY CONTINUED

1691. Father Juan Maria de Salvatierra having entered in the year 1691 as visitor of these missions of Sinaloa and Sonora, his Reverence came in December^{211a} from Chinipas to visit us; and, seeing in his holy visit to these new missions such fertile, abundant, and pleasant lands, valleys, and rivers, he expressed the opinion that they were the richest he had seen in all the missions, to which I replied that it appeared to me also that these lands, so rich, might be the relief and support of the somewhat sterile and poor California, where we had left so many souls scattered and lost, and who were still

²¹¹ The reference is to the coming of Fathers Luis Pineli, Antonio Arias, Pedro de Sandoval and Juan del Castillojo. See volume i, 116.

^{211a} This was December, 1690.

asking us for holy baptism; and we planned to make every endeavor to effect the return with all possible haste to continue said conquests and conversions.²¹²

1697. His Reverence, with his holy zeal, immediately, even before setting out from these Pima missions, made a very good report to his royal Majesty and his royal ministers; and, although in the beginning there were difficulties and delays, in the year 1697 said Father Juan Maria de Salvatierra, availing himself of the alms which he had secured among faithful, pious persons, obtained a license from the Señor viceroy, Don Joseph Sarmiento de Valladares y Montesuma, permitting his Reverence and me to go to California. For this purpose his Reverence came from Mexico to the missions of Sinaloa and Hyaqui, provided with all that was necessary from Mocorito,²¹³ in Sinaloa. He informed me of his arrival, and of having accomplished the desired purpose that we two should go to California, sending me the very pleasing letter of the father provincial, Juan de Palacios, in regard to the matter. Thereupon I immediately reported to the father visitor, Horacio Polise, and set out to go to Hyaqui and our best beloved California. But, although I was going most gladly, they detained me over here as being necessary, as the father visitor, Horacio Polise, and the Señor military commander and alcalde mayor of this province of Sonora, Don Domingo Xironsa Petriz de Cruzatt,²¹⁴ wrote me by messenger. Father Francisco Maria Pico went in my place to California, and afterwards made a glorious report of the good state of California,

²¹² Father Salvatierra's visit and the journey with Kino in 1691 are related in volume i, 117-121.

²¹³ Mocorito is located on the Río Mocorito a few miles east of Casal. Casal is on the Southern Pacific Railway, seventy-five miles north of Culiacán.

²¹⁴ Governor of New Mexico from 1683 to 1686.

which, thanks be to our Lord, goes on being so happily conquered and converted that other better pens than mine consider and will consider it worth while to write of its apostolic missions.²¹⁵

CHAPTER V. WHILE THE CONQUEST AND CONVERSION OF CALIFORNIA ARE BEING CARRIED ON AT TWENTY-FIVE, TWENTY-SIX, AND TWENTY-SEVEN DEGREES OF LATITUDE, AND OVER HERE COMMUNICATION WITH IT IS SOUGHT IN THIS OUR LATITUDE OF THIRTY-TWO, THIRTY-THREE, AND MORE DEGREES, I UNDERTAKING FOR THIS PURPOSE THE BUILDING OF A VESSEL, BY MEANS OF THE MANY EXPEDITIONS IN THESE NEW CONVERSIONS A PASSAGE BY LAND TO CALIFORNIA IS DISCOVERED IN LATITUDE THIRTY-FIVE DEGREES ^{215a}

Remaining, as I did, over here, with the sole relief and comfort of the hope that, availing myself of the licenses which Father Juan Maria de Salvatierra had just brought me from Mexico from the father provincial and from his Excellency, I also might be able from here to find and open a way to the same California and to its reduction, in latitudes thirty, thirty-one, thirty-two, thirty-three, thirty-four, thirty-five or more degrees, for this purpose I made various missions, or expeditions, to the west and to the coast of the Sea of California. I undertook the building of a little vessel, in sections, part here at Nuestra Señora de los Dolores and part at La Consepion de Nuestra Señora de Caborca, which is about fifteen leagues distant from the Sea of California, and from whose coasts flames and smokes in the Californias can be seen. Afterwards, however, I suspended the building of the vessel, since

²¹⁵ An account of the work of Salvatierra and Picolo in California is given by Picolo, *ante*, pages 46-67.

^{215a} Kino here follows his earlier diaries instead of his final conclusions.

by the divine grace, through different expeditions which I made, to the northwest in particular, I discovered that in latitude thirty-four and one-half degrees the Sea of California ended completely.

In general, in these twenty-one years, up to the present time I have made from the first pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores more than forty expeditions to the north, west, northwest, and southwest, of fifty, eighty, one hundred, two hundred and more leagues, sometimes accompanied by other fathers, but most of the time with only my servants and with the governors, captains, and caciques of different rancherías or incipient pueblos from here and from the interior.

TO THE NORTH AND NORTHEAST. To the north and northeast I have travelled ²¹⁶ on different occasions more than one hundred and thirty leagues, to Casa Grande, which is a building of the ancients of Montesuma, who set out from these lands when they went to found the City of Mexico, and to the Rio Grande, or Rio de Hila, ²¹⁷ which issues from the confines of New Mexico through the Apacheria, and comes to these our Pimas Sobaiporis, and afterwards flows more than one hundred leagues to the west by the Cocomaricopas and Yumas, until it unites with the most voluminous Colorado River, which is the true Rio del Norte of the ancients. And I have penetrated to the borders and in plain sight of the Apacheria, which intervenes between this extensive Pimeria and the province of Moqui and Zuñi.

TO THE WEST. To the westward of New Mexico with different fathers, Father Augustin de Campos, Father Marcos Antonio Kappus, and Father Geronimo Minutuli, ²¹⁸ I have penetrated the seventy leagues be-

²¹⁶ *He encontrado*, i.e., *entrado*.

²¹⁷ Gila.

²¹⁸ Campos went in 1693, Kapus in 1694, and Minutuli in 1706.

tween here and the Sea of California, and far enough to get a very plain view of more than twenty-five leagues of continuous land of California.²¹⁹ And now they have their missions well founded: Father Augustin de Campos at San Ignacio, San Joseph de Himires, and Santa Maria Madalena; and Father Geronimo Minutuli at San Pedro y San Pablo del Tubutama, Santa Tereza, and San Antonio del Uquitoa. Besides, there are good beginnings of baptisms, building of churches and houses, cattle, sheep and goats, horses, sowings and harvests of wheat, maize, beans, etc., in the new pueblo of Nuestra Señora de la Conzeption del Cabotca, at San Antonio de Busanic, and in other parts.

TO THE NORTHWEST. To the northwest I have travelled more than two hundred leagues, to the head of the Sea of California, where enters the very voluminous, populous, and fertile Colorado River, which is the true Rio del Norte of the ancients, and the river which Francis Drake and his followers called Rio del Coral,²²⁰ as he calls the other, the Hila River, which issues through the borders of this Pimeria, Rio de Tizon. It is true that on its banks and in its vicinity it has many fire-brands,²²¹ which the natives in cold weather carry in their hands, warming the pit of the stomach to relieve their nakedness. At eight or nine in the morning, when the sun usually warms up a little, they throw them away, of which I have been an eye-witness. But Drake is very much in error in his fabulous demarkation, in which he very boldly depicts California as an island, saying that its sea extends up to the Sea of the North and the much talked of Strait of Anian, for, in these

²¹⁹ See the reference map for list of expeditions.

²²⁰ Father Escobar in his Ms. diary of the Oñate expedition to the gulf tells of hearing of pearls there, but does not mention Rio del Coral.

²²¹ *Tizonas*.

ten years, in fourteen²²² expeditions which I made for this purpose, we have plainly discovered that this Sea of California extends no further than to thirty-four degrees and a half of latitude, where there is plainly a passage to California. By it there continually come to us many of those blue shells which are produced only on the opposite coast of the above mentioned California and South Sea, whereby every year the ship from China is accustomed to come.

On one of these journeys to the northwest Father Adamo Jilg went with me to the Yuma²²³ nation, by order of the Father Visitor Horasio Polise; and Father Juan Maria de Salvatierra, who since has been most deservedly father provincial of this Province of New Spain, went to San Marcelo del Sonoydag, and far enough to observe the closing of these their lands at the head of the Sea of California. Father Manuel Gonzales went with me to the very mouth of the large Colorado River; and only a year and a half ago Fray Manuel de la Oyuela,²²⁴ of the Sacred Order of San Francisco, went with me to the very high mountain of Santa Clara which is exactly north of the head of the Sea of California, and from which it is seen most plainly that this sea ascends no higher up, and that California has a continental connection with this mainland of New Spain. Of the truth of this his Reverence, with Alférez Juan Mateo Ramires and Commander Juan Duran, gave me a sworn certificate.²²⁵

²²² This number is repeated *post*, page 253.

²²³ See the reference map.

²²⁴ Gilg went on the expedition of February-March, 1699; Salvatierra in 1701; González in 1702; Oyuela in 1706.

²²⁵ Reproduced, pages 209-214. The reference is to the diary by Ramirez, reproduced *ante*, pages 197-208.

CHAPTER VI. MORE THAN TWENTY GOVERNORS
AND CAPTAINS OF THE INTERIOR COME TO NUESTRA
SEÑORA DE LOS DOLORES TO ASK FATHERS
AND HOLY BAPTISM, AND GO FOR THE SAME PUR-
POSE TO SANTA MARIA DE BASERACA TO SEE
THE FATHER VISITOR HORACIO POLIZE, SOME
OF THEM TRAVELLING IN GOING AND
RETURNING TO THEIR HOMES FOUR
HUNDRED LEAGUES

From two other journeys which I made, one to the north and the other to the west, it came about that more than twenty governors and captains of this extensive Pimeria came from fifty, seventy, ninety, and more than one hundred leagues' journey to this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores to ask of me fathers and holy baptism for all the people of their rancherías. And, I having suggested to them that those fathers must be asked from the father visitor, who was about one hundred leagues from here, they asked me to give them guides to go with them, that they might go there to ask the means of their salvation; so I had to go with them for that purpose as far as Santa Maria de Baseraca, ninety-six leagues beyond, to see the father visitor, Horacio Polise, who, particularly since then, has always been most sympathetic toward and fond of these new conversions.²²⁶ He consoled them as best he could, receiving them with all affection, promising them that he would do his very best to secure for them the necessary missionary fathers desired, and they asked them from Mexico of the father provincial, Juan de Palacios. In his new and large church of Santa Maria de Baseraca the father visitor catechised and baptized one of the captains, who was named Marcos, after his godfather, the governor of Baseraca, and aided us generously,

²²⁶ This was in 1697. For this journey to Baseraca see volume i, 166-168.

particularly in all the environs of his incipient pueblo of San Ambrosio del Busanic.

The father visitor, Horacio Polise, in thanksgiving for the pleasure which he felt at the coming of so many new people, although it was in October, chanted a solemn mass to the three holy kings, who were the first to see and recognize and adore the Redeemer of the world—*Primitiæ Gentium*;²²⁷ for some of them came more than two hundred leagues, and, with as many more which they had to travel in return to their homes, the distance was more than four hundred. His Reverence wrote to the Señor military commander of this province that he also ought to try to inform himself of the good state of this Pima nation, since if it were promoted it would be very advantageous for everything, and especially to restrain the enemies of this province of Sonora, the Hocomes and Apaches. His Lordship therefore sent twenty-two soldiers to Quiburi,²²⁸ whither we went and found Captain Corò, who with his people was dancing over the scalps of some hostile Hocomes whom he had killed a little while before.

²²⁷ "The first fruits of the Gentiles."

²²⁸ In 1697, under Captain Bernal. See volume i, 168-174.

CHAPTER VII. ON ANOTHER MISSION, OR JOURNEY, OF MORE THAN ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY LEAGUES, WHICH I MADE TO THE NORTHEAST, I TOOK WITH ME TWENTY-TWO SOLDIERS, THAT THEY MIGHT BE EYE-WITNESSES TO THE GOOD STATE OF THOSE PIMAS OF THE NORTH AND OF THEIR FERTILE VALLEYS, AND WE FOUND SO MANY AND SUCH RIPE HARVESTS OF SOULS THAT WHEN WE RETURNED FATHER MELCHOR DE BARTIROMO CHANTED A SOLEMN MASS IN THANKSGIVING AT TOAPE TO OUR LADY OF THE CONCEPTION

On this occasion, when I made a mission, or journey, to the neighboring Pimas Sobaiporis, and met the twenty-two soldiers and their captain, Christoval Martin Bernal, since it was said that in the interior there were horses stolen from this province of Sonora, and since I knew the contrary to be the fact, and that not these Pimas but the Hocomes, Apaches, and Janos were the ones who were committing these depredations, stealing horses from this province and its frontiers, I took them with me, that they might become eye-witnesses to the very friendly and good state of all these Pimas Sobaiporis. Their principal cacique and captain, called Aumaric,²²⁹ had come with his two sons two years before to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores to be catechised and baptized, and he was named Francisco; and his elder son was named Francisco Xavier, and the other son Horasio Polise.

We entered together from Santa Ana de Quibori by the valley and river of San Joseph de Terrenate,²³⁰ Captain Coro also accompanying us. We arrived by the same river at the very pleasant valley of the Pimas Sobaipuris, and at the Rio Grande de Hila, the above

²²⁹ Humaric.

²³⁰ The San Pedro.

mentioned Captain Francisco Humari coming more than thirty leagues to meet and receive us, with his two sons, one of whom was governor and the other alcalde of his great ranchería of San Fernando.²³¹ In no place did we find the least trace of horses stolen from this province of Sonora. Everywhere they received us with various gifts, and with their many viands. By the Hila River we descended more than forty leagues farther to the west, to the Casa Grande and to La Encarnacion del Tusonimo, where we were received, with much joy on his part and on ours, with many crosses and with many arches placed on the roads, by the captain of that great ranchería, who was called Juan de Palasios, for we had given him this name of the actual father provincial at his baptism, he being one of those who two months before had gone to Santa Maria de Baseraca to see Father Visitor Horasio Polise.

Afterward we returned by the extensive valley of the other Pimas Sobaiporis to the west, namely, San Francisco Xavier del Baac of the Rio de Santa Maria;²³² and, coming by San Caetano, San Gabriel de Guebavi, San Luiz de Bacoancos, and Santiago de Cocospera, to this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, we went also to the neighboring pueblos of Cucurpe and Toape, where Father Melchor Bartiromo was found. Hearing that we had found those more than seven thousand Pima Sobaiporis so friendly, and disposed to receive our holy Catholic faith, and without the very least trace of hostilities, or of having stolen horses, and that in almost all places they received us with arches and with crosses placed on the roads, and with their many pro-

²³¹ According to the diaries of 1697 Victoria was Humari's village.

²³² The Santa Cruz.

visions, and that they had given us more than seventy little ones to baptize, and that we had given more than sixty staffs of office to justices, governors, captains, alcaldes, fiscales, constables, etc., and that the principal captain of these natives, Humaric, had come more than thirty leagues to meet and receive us, said Father Melchor de Bartiromo chanted another solemn mass at Toape to Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion, in thanksgiving for so happy a result and for the great ripeness of that harvest of so many souls.

CHAPTER VIII. IN ANOTHER MISSION OR JOURNEY WHICH THE FATHER VISITOR, ANTONIO LEAL, AND FATHER FRANCISCO GONSALVO AND I MADE TO THE NORTHWARD, RETURNING BY THE WEST, WE SAW MORE THAN EIGHT THOUSAND OTHER PIMAS; AND THE FATHER VISITOR WITH HIS PATERNAL HOLY ZEAL SECURED FOR US SOME FATHER LABORERS

In all the more than forty journeys or missions which I made into the interior, through the teaching of the Christian doctrine and the love and fear of God, in order that the poor natives may arrive at eternal good fortune and escape from the eternal fires, and through the charitable, paternal, and good treatment which according to our holy institute we have attempted to give these poor Indians, they have always given me many little ones to baptize. In the first journey or mission, which, coming from the Rio Grande, from the north to the south, I made to these coasts of the Sea of California,²³³ where they never had seen any white face or Spanish person in the eighty leagues of coast which I travelled,²³⁴ more than five thousand Indians being sub-

²³³ That of 1698.

²³⁴ This is a very good indication that it was commonly understood that Kino was the pioneer in that region. The reference is to the journey of 1698.

duced, four hundred and thirty-five infants were presented to me to baptize in the great ranchería alone which we named San Fransisco.²³⁵ On the fourth of October, after mass, they gave me one hundred and two little ones to baptize; and in the afternoon, at the neighboring ranchería which followed it, and which we named San Serafin, they gave me sixty others.

When, two years afterwards, the father visitor, Antonio Leal,²³⁶ in his holy and apostolic visit, penetrated with Father Francisco Gonzalvo and me, more than eighty leagues northward and went as far as San Francisco Xavier del Baac of the Sobaiporis, and as far as San Agustin,²³⁷ and returned by the westward, he arrived at San Serafin and San Fransisco, solemnizing several baptisms in different places, greatly consoling and edifying all this extensive Pimeria and its neighboring nations; and at San Serafin and San Fransisco the little ones whom I had previously baptized received his Reverence with tiny crosses in their hands, a great number of which were afterwards collected, some being given to the father visitor and others to me. Those which they gave me I took to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. The father visitor, with his paternal holy zeal, was captivated by, and looked always with his very warm love and affection upon, these new conversions and these holy new Pima missions; and having visited this one of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, that of San Ygnacio, and that of San Pedro y San Pablo del Tubutama, he aided us to secure some fathers for the rest.²³⁸

²³⁵ San Francisco del Adid.

²³⁶ In October-November, 1699. See volume i, 203-210.

²³⁷ San Agustín del Oyaur, north of where Tucson now stands. Across the river and farther south was San Cosme del Tucson.

²³⁸ They came in 1701. They were Fathers Juan de San Martín, Francisco Gonzalvo, Ignacio de Yturmende, and Gaspar de las Barrillas.

CHAPTER IX. IN THE TWENTY-ONE YEARS SINCE THESE NEW CONVERSIONS WERE BEGUN MORE THAN THIRTY THOUSAND SOULS HAVE BEEN REDUCED TO OUR FRIENDSHIP AND TO THE DESIRE OF RECEIVING OUR HOLY CATHOLIC FAITH; AND IF FOR THIS PURPOSE NECESSARY FATHERS BE GIVEN, THERE ARE WELL-FOUNDED HOPES THAT, GOD WILLING, MORE THAN AS MANY OTHERS CAN BE WON

With all these expeditions or missions that have been made to a distance of two hundred leagues in these new heathendoms in these twenty-one years, there have been brought to our friendship and to the desire of receiving our holy Catholic faith, between Pimas, Cocomaricopas, Yumas, Quiquimas, etc., more than thirty thousand souls, there being sixteen thousand of Pimas alone. I have solemnized more than four thousand²³⁹ baptisms, and I could have baptized ten or twelve thousand Indians more if the lack of father laborers had not rendered it impossible for us to catechise them and instruct them in advance. But if our Lord sends, by means of his royal Majesty and of the superiors, the necessary fathers for so great and so ripe a harvest of souls, it will not be difficult, God willing, to achieve the holy baptism of all these souls and of very many others, on the very populous Colorado River, as well as in California Alta, and at thirty-five degrees latitude and thereabouts, for this very great Colorado River has its origin at fifty-two degrees latitude.²⁴⁰

And here I answer the question asked of me in the letter of the Father Rector Juan Hurtasum, as to whether some rivers run into the North Sea or all emp-

²³⁹ Ortega and others who follow him say forty thousand, adding a cipher by mistake.

²⁴⁰ In reality about 43° 20' N.

ty into the Sea of California, by saying that since this Colorado River, which is the Rio del Norte of the ancients, carries so much water, it must be that it comes from a high and remote land, as is the case with the other large volumed rivers of all the world and teraqueous globe; therefore the other rivers of the land in fifty-two degrees latitude probably have their slope toward the Sea of the North, where Husson²⁴¹ wintered. Some more information can be drawn from the maps which I add to this report; and in order not to violate the brevity which I promised herein, I will add only that in regard to the fourteen²⁴² journeys of two hundred leagues to the northwest, I have written a little treatise of about twenty-five sheets which is entitled "Cosmographical Proof that California is not an Island but a Peninsula,"²⁴³ etc.; and that of these new discoveries and new conversions in general, by order of our Father-General, Thirso Gonzales, I am writing another and more extensive treatise, with maps, of which more than one hundred sheets are already written. By suggestion of his Reverence it is entitled "Celestial Favors of Jesus Our Lord, and of Mary Most Holy, and of the most Glorious Apostle of the Indies, San Francisco Xavier, experienced in the New Conversions of these New Nations of these New Heathendoms of this North America."²⁴⁴

²⁴¹ Hudson.

²⁴² Kino here repeats the number fourteen given in this connection on page 245.

²⁴³ *Manifiesto Cosmografico de que la California no es Ysla sino Peninsula.*

²⁴⁴ From this it is seen that Part v was not at first intended as a part of the *Favores Celestiales*.

BOOK III. OF THE VERY GREAT ADVANTAGE TO BOTH MAJESTIES WHICH CAN BE OBTAINED BY THE PROMOTION OF THESE NEW CONQUESTS AND CONVERSIONS, ON ACCOUNT OF THE MANY GREAT BENEFITS AND UTILITIES WHICH THEY PROMISE

CHAPTER I. THAT THESE NEW CONVERSIONS, THEIR NEW MISSIONS BEING PROMOTED, WILL BE ABLE TO SERVE AS A VERY GREAT OR TOTAL RELIEF FOR THIS PROVINCE OF SONORA FROM THE ENEMIES WHO FOR SO MANY YEARS HAVE CONTINUALLY INFESTED IT, AND WHO ARE THE HOCOMES, JANOS, AND APACHES, FOR THESE OUR PIMAS WITH THEIR CAPTAIN CORO, AND EVEN WITHOUT HIM, ARE ACCUSTOMED FREQUENTLY TO GIVE THEM GOOD BLOWS

For many years this province of Sonora has suffered very greatly from its avowed enemies, the Hocomes, Janos, and Apaches,²⁴⁵ through continual thefts of horses and cattle, and murders of Christian Indians and Spaniards, etc., depredations which in many years not even the two expensive presidios, that of Janos²⁴⁶ and that of this province of Sonora, have been able to check completely, for still these enemies continue to infest, as always, all this province of Sonora, with their accustomed murders and robberies and their very notorious

²⁴⁵ Tribes living, in general, northeast of Dolores. See the reference map.

²⁴⁶ Janos is in northern Chihuahua. The Sonora presidio was that of Santa Rosa Corodéguaichi.

and continued hostilities. They have already reached and they now go as far as Acenoquipe,²⁴⁷ in the Valley of Sonora itself; and as far as Tuape, in the Valley of Opodepe, and as far as San Ygnacio and Santa Maria Magdalena, in this Pimeria.

But, by founding very good missions for them in these new conquests and conversions, particularly in the good eastern valley of the great valley of Santa Ana de Hiburi,²⁴⁸ where Captain Coro is at present, who already is a Christian and is called Anttonio Leal, a great restraint can be placed upon these enemies, who are accustomed to live in the neighboring sierras of Chiguicagui; and by fortifying for said Captain Coro his great ranchería, for a new pueblo, as shortly, God willing, we shall fortify him for the protection of Santa Maria Baseraca, he will continue better his accustomed expeditions against these enemies; and he will be able to chastise them, as he is accustomed to do, winning very good victories, as always, and even much greater, for the total relief of this province of Sonora, just as when a few years ago²⁴⁹ he killed at one blow more than two hundred of those enemies, and as four months ago, in the expedition which he made in pursuit of those who were carrying off cattle and horses from the Real de Bacanuche, he killed fifteen adult enemies and carried off ten little prisoners. One of them I have here in my house. Having baptized and catechised them, I named one of them Joan Miguel, which are the names of our Father-General and of the Provincial; the other I named Philipo, in honor of our very Catholic monarch, God save him.

²⁴⁷ Sinoquipe.

²⁴⁸ Quiburi, in the San Pedro Valley, Arizona.

²⁴⁹ In 1698. See volume i, 178-181.

CHAPTER II. THAT PRUDENT PERSONS THINK
THAT IN THESE TWO HUNDRED LEAGUES OF NEW
CONQUESTS A NEW KINGDOM CAN BE FOUNDED

The promotion of these new conversions will serve also for the advancement, good government, and good administration of the many more missions which can be founded farther on, for there are prudent and weighty persons, zealous for the service of the Majesties, who are of the opinion that in these more than two hundred leagues of new rich lands, inhabited by Indians industrious and newly conquered and reduced, a new kingdom can with ease be founded, which might be called New Navarre, as others are called New Viscaia, New Galisia, New Kingdom of Leon, etc.

CHAPTER III. THAT, GOD WILLING, ONE CAN ENTER
SHORTLY TO THE NORTH AND NORTHEAST TO
THE REDUCTION OF THE NEIGHBORING APA-
CHERIA, AND TO THE NORTHWEST UP
THE LARGE VOLUMED RIO COLORADO,
OR RIO DEL NORTE

By promoting the new conversions of this extensive Pimeria, with the favor of Heaven we shall be able shortly to enter upon the reduction and conversion of the neighboring Apacheria, which lies to the north and northeast of us, and extends northwest to the very large Colorado River, or Rio del Norte, above the thirty-fifth, thirty-sixth, and thirty-seventh degrees of latitude, and beyond, for we know that it flows from northeast to southwest and issues about ten leagues west of the province of Moqui; ²⁵⁰ for, we having sent messages to those natives up the Colorado River, already they invite us to enter to see them, and already they give us certain reports that soon, in imitation of the rest over

²⁵⁰ The Hopi, of northeastern Arizona.

here, they will be won to our friendship and to the desire of receiving our holy Catholic faith.

CHAPTER IV. THAT WE SHALL BE ABLE TO ENTER TO TRADE WITH THE PEOPLE OF MOQUI AND ZUÑI, AND OF NEW MEXICO, WHICH ARE ALSO IN THIRTY-SIX AND THIRTY-SEVEN DEGREES OF LATITUDE, FOR WE HAVE REACHED THEIR VICINITY IN THIRTY-FOUR DEGREES LATITUDE AND MORE

By way of the same Apacheria, which is in thirty-two degrees latitude, we shall be able, with the divine grace, to enter to trade with New Mexico and with its nearest provinces, Moqui and Zuñi, for on an average it is not more than forty or fifty leagues, which is the distance at thirty-four degrees latitude, where live our already well-subdued and domestic Pimas Sobaiporis of San Fernando,^{250a} the most remote, at the junction of the rivers Hila and San Joseph de Terrenate, or de Quiburi; at latitude thirty-six degrees, where are situated the provinces of Moqui and Zuñi; and as far as thirty-seven degrees, in which is found the Villa of Santa Fe of New Mexico; for we have also certain reports that before the revolt of New Mexico the Spaniards of those provinces used to come by way of the Apacheria to these our most remote Pimas Sobaiporis to barter hatchets, cloth, sackcloth, blankets, *chomites*,²⁵¹ knives, etc., for maize.²⁵²

^{250a} In 1697 the last village on the San Pedro was Victoria, some distance from the junction. See page 249, footnote 231.

²⁵¹ *Chomite*, a kind of skirt.

²⁵² This is evidence of trade in the seventeenth century between New Mexico and Arizona.

CHAPTER V. THAT A WAY CAN BE OPENED EVEN
TO OTHER MORE DISTANT EXPEDITIONS AND CON-
QUESTS, AS TO THE NORTHWARD, TO GRAN
TEGUAYO, TO THE NORTHWEST, TO GRAN
QUIVIRA, TO THE WEST, TO CALIFOR-
NIA ALTA AND PUERTO DE MONTER-
REY, CAPE MENDOSINO, ETC.

With the promotion of these new conversions not only will the Christian settlements already formed, new and old, have more protection, and be defended by them, as has been suggested, but at the same time a way will be opened to many other new conquests, and new conversions, in many other more remote new lands and nations of this still somewhat unknown North America; as for example, to the northward, to Gran Teguayo; to the northwest, to Gran Quibira; and to the west, to California Alta, of this our same latitude of thirty-four, thirty-five, thirty-six degrees, and farther, and to its opposite coast and the South Sea; and to its great Bay of the Eleven Thousand Virgins;²⁵³ to the famous port of Monte Rey, which is in neighboring and fertile lands (and a royal *cédula* came to Sebastian Biscaino that he should go to colonize it), and to the very renowned Cape Mendozino.

CHAPTER VI. THAT IN TIME WE SHALL BE ABLE
TO TRADE WITH NEW FRANCE AND OPEN A WAY
TO EUROPE SHORTER BY HALF THAN THAT
WHICH WE TRAVEL *VIA* VERA CRUZ

At the same time, after having entered to Moqui and New Mexico, to the northwest and the east, it will be possible to have communication with New France, and with the new conquests, conversions, and missions which

²⁵³ Port San Quentin. See Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, 73-76, 453.

at present they are making with their glorious and apostolic journeys from east to west. And if we enter to the north and northeast, and afterwards turn to the east, it will be possible to open a way to Europe from these new conquests and conversions of this North America where we are, only half as long as the road which we now have and are accustomed to travel, by way of the City of Mexico and the Port of Vera Cruz; for if the one road is much more than two thousand leagues, the other will be little more than a thousand.²⁵⁴

CHAPTER VII. THAT TO THE WESTWARD BY CONTINUOUS LANDS, BY THE LAND OF IESSO,²⁵⁵ BY THE LAND WHICH THEY CALL TIERRA DE LA COMPAÑIA, AND BY THE STRAIT OF ANIAN, IN TIME ONE WILL BE ABLE TO PASS FROM THIS AMERICA TO ASIA AND TO GREAT TARTARY AND TO GREAT CHINA

Just as to the northeast and east of this North America we shall be able to have a shorter road to Europe, in the same way we shall be able to have by the northwest and the west a convenient land route to Asia, and to Great Tartary, and to Great China, since to the westward of Cape Mendosino and connected therewith follows the land of Jesso;²⁵⁶ afterwards come the lands which they call Tierra de la Compañia²⁵⁷ (may our Lord grant that some day it may be of the Company of Jesus and converted to our holy Catholic faith) and the land nearest to Japan; and afterward the narrow Strait of Anian, which is no more than ten or twelve leagues across, and has the convenience of an island in the mid-

²⁵⁴ The opening of a northeastern route to Europe by way of the northern interior had been contemplated since the sixteenth century.

²⁵⁵ See volume i, 360, *footnote*.

²⁵⁶ See *ibid.*

²⁵⁷ See *ibid.*

dle of which to pass to Great Tartary, and from there to Great China. For lately the very learned author of the very curious new *Geographic Mirror*,²⁵⁸ Don Pedro de Mendosa, knight of the Order of Calatrabe,²⁵⁹ notes that a few years ago Father Grimaldi, of our Company, having gone from Great China to Great Tartary, near those places and countries, learned that the sea, where I know that the Strait of Anian enters, was no farther distant than forty days' journey. And it is patent that there is no other Strait of Anian than this which I here mention, for although Drake, in order to carry his point that California was an island, would feign another Strait of Anian with another much-talked-of Sea of the North over here above California, and that he had turned back from his navigation, yet it is all false.

CHAPTER VIII. THAT ONE CAN PASS TO THE OPPOSITE COAST OF CALIFORNIA TO ESTABLISH A PORT OF CALL FOR THE SHIP FROM CHINA, AND SUCCOR THE MANY PERSONS SICK OF SCURVY WHICH IT IS ACCUSTOMED TO BRING; AND THE INHABITANTS OF THESE NEW CONQUESTS, IN ALL THE KINGDOM OF NEW VISCAIA, ETC., WILL BE ABLE TO TRADE WITH IT

Another great advantage of much value to both Majesties will be that these new conversions and this province of Sonora and all the kingdom of Nueva Biscaia, by way of the Rio Grande, or Hila, which is that of El Tison, and by the land route to California, will be able to provide a port of call to the China ship,²⁶⁰ and trade with her, and succor with fresh food persons sick with

²⁵⁸ Hurtado de Mendoza (Pedro), *Espejo Geographico. Segunda y tercera parte, contiene la descripción del Globo Terrayneo* (Madrid, 1691).

²⁵⁹ Calatrava.

²⁶⁰ The Manila galleon.

the very painful disease of scurvy which she is accustomed to bring with her, originating from their salt, dry, and stale food, and all with very great advantages and gains for all, obviating the very long and costly transportation of many of their goods from these latitudes above thirty degrees to the port of Acapulco and from Acapulco to Mexico, and to these provinces of Nueva Biscaya, etc. And this port of call, with all due deference to the navigators of the China ship, it appears, might be at the Bay of Todos Santos, or at the famous neighboring port of San Diego of the opposite coast, which are at about the same latitude (though a little below) as the passage by land to California, that is, at thirty-five degrees.

CHAPTER IX. THAT WE SHALL HAPPILY COMPLY WITH THAT WHICH IN SO CATHOLIC A MANNER SO MANY ROYAL *CÉDULAS* CHARGE US WITH, NAMELY, THAT IN A MATTER SO VERY ESSENTIAL WE MUST REPORT THESE HEATHENDOMS THAT LIVE IN SUCH HELPLESSNESS, IN ORDER TO REDUCE THEM AND CONVERT THEM TO OUR HOLY CATHOLIC FAITH, THUS TRANSFERRING THE BURDEN FROM THEIR CONSCIENCES TO THOSE OF US WHO LIVE NEARER TO THEM

There are royal *cédulas* and royal provisions which charge us to report the new heathendoms, and happily we shall comply with them if we try to secure, as is so just, the promotion of these new conversions.

JULY 17, 1701. The new royal *cédula* of our very Christian, very Catholic monarch, Philip the Fifth, God save him many happy years, of July 17, 1701, orders that report be made to him not only of the state of the new conversions of California, which already has been very well executed in the minute printed report

by Father Francisco Maria Picolo, but "also of the location and state of the uncivilized heathen Indians of this province of Sonora, etc."

And the royal *cédula* of his immediate predecessor, Don Carlos the Second, God rest his soul, charges the same, as given me by the royal Audiencia of Guadalajara, inserted in my royal provision, when twenty-one years ago I came from California and from Mexico to these new conversions of this extensive Pimeria.

MAY 4, 1686. It is dated at Buen Retiro, May 4, 1686. With this royal *cédula* his royal Majesty relieves his conscience, and that of the royal council, by burdening the consciences of those of us who live over here near and bordering upon these heathen nations, in order to seek the means for the eternal salvation of so many souls in this North America who live in such helplessness and even neglect, as the royal *cédula* expresses it, as hitherto has been unknown, in a matter so very essential, and by commanding that all the time possible be gained for him therein without sparing expense, since it is plainly recognized that our Lord always repays well known and very much augmented increase to the royal crown. All these are words from the royal *cédula*.²⁶¹

CHAPTER X. THAT THE ROYAL EMPIRE OF THE
CATHOLIC MONARCH AND OF OUR HOLY MOTHER,
THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, SHALL
BE HAPPILY EXTENDED

It is plain, moreover, that by the Catholic promotion of these new conquests and conversions, or the new kingdoms of this New Navarre, the Catholic empire of the Catholic royal crown and of our holy mother, the

²⁶¹ See volume i, 109. The date is given there as May 14, 1686. Kino does not quote exactly here but in substance only.

Roman Catholic Church, is happily extended, so that happily all the world may be one fold with one shepherd (*ut fiat unum ovile et vnus Pastor*), and this, by the divine grace, without great expenditure from the royal chests, and with only the accustomed alms for the missionary fathers, because the natives are so subdued and so domestic that they themselves, even without the expense of sustaining soldiers, are able to inflict and do inflict very exemplary punishment for whatever evil, crime, theft, adultery, or murder which may or is accustomed to happen.

CHAPTER XI. THAT FOR THE PROMOTION OF THESE
NEW CONQUESTS AND NEW CONVERSIONS WE HOPE
TO SECURE FROM HIS HOLINESS SOME FAVOR-
ABLE INDULGENCES AND FROM HIS ROYAL
CATHOLIC MAJESTY SOME PRIVILEGES
AND IMMUNITIES, ETC.

At the same time we hope, God willing, that by means of our superiors over here in Mexico, and those in Madrid and Rome, we shall bring it about that his Holiness will grant to all the benefactors and promoters of these new conquests and new conversions some very favorable indulgences, and fullest spiritual favors of a jubilee²⁶² in life and for the hour of death; and that also his royal Majesty, God save him many years, will be pleased to honor the benefactors and promoters with immunities, privileges, and exemptions, from his royal magnificence and magnanimous liberality. And perhaps of these benefactors there may be formed a pious congregation of Mary Most Holy and of the Twelve Disciples, as it is said there is one in Peru.

²⁶² *Jubileos plenissimos.*

CHAPTER XII. THAT WE SHALL BE ABLE TO MAKE CORRECT MAPS OF THIS UNKNOWN NORTH AMERICA, AND WITH CERTAIN INFORMATION EMERGE FROM THE ERRORS IN WHICH THOSE PLACE US WHO FEIGN A CROWNED KING WHO IS CARRIED IN GOLDEN CHAIRS, AND LAKES OF QUICKSILVER AND OF GOLD, WALLED CITIES, ETC.

If we continue with the promotion and advancement of these new conversions, we shall be able to continue to make correct maps of this North America, the greater part of which has hitherto been unknown, or practically unknown, for some ancients blot the map with so many and such errors and with such unreal grandeurs and feigned riches as a crowned king whom they carry in chairs of gold, with walled cities, and lakes of quicksilver and gold, or amber, and of corals. With reason Father Mariana²⁶³ rebukes them for deceiving us with these riches that do not exist. They do not say a word about the principal riches that exist there, which are the innumerable souls ransomed by the most precious blood of our Redeemer, Jesus Christ, and these accompanied by the very abundant conveniences and temporal means, utilities, facilities, and opportunities which immediately and without any fiction I shall mention in this fourth part of this report.

²⁶³ See volume i, 359.

BOOK IV. OF THE MANY TEMPORAL
MEANS, FACILITIES, AND OPPORTUNITIES
WHICH OUR LORD OFFERS AND GIVES
IN THESE NEW CONVERSIONS FOR SE-
CURING THIS GREAT ADVANTAGE
FOR BOTH MAJESTIES

CHAPTER I. THAT IN THESE VERY FERTILE LANDS
OF THESE NEW CONQUESTS THERE ARE ALREADY
MADE MANY FIELDS OF WHEAT AND MAIZE,
AND GOOD GARDENS AND VINEYARDS, AND
VERY MANY MORE CAN BE MADE

The greater the means the greater our obligation to seek the salvation of so many souls in the very fertile and pleasant lands and valleys of these new conquests and conversions. There are already very rich and abundant fields, plantings and crops of wheat, maize, frijoles, chick-peas, beans, lentils, bastard chick-peas, etc. There are good gardens, and in them vineyards for wine for masses, with cane-brakes of sweet cane for syrup and *panocha*,²⁶⁴ and, with the favor of Heaven, before long for sugar. There are many Castilian fruit trees, such as fig-trees, quinces, oranges, pomegranates, peaches, apricots, pear-trees, apples, mulberries, pecans, prickly pears, etc., with all sorts of garden stuff, such as cabbages, melons, watermelons, white cabbage, lettuce, onions, leeks, garlic, anise, pepper, mustard, mint, Castilian roses, white lilies, etc., with very good

²⁶⁴ *Panocha*, a sort of candy made by boiling cane sap.

timber for all kinds of building, such as pine, ash, cypress, walnut, china-trees, mesquite, alders, poplar, willow, tamarind, etc.

CHAPTER II. THAT WITH THE VERY GOOD PASTURES OF THESE NEW CONQUESTS MANY RANCHES ARE STOCKED WITH CATTLE AND SHEEP AND GOATS, AND WITH HORSES, ETC.

Another temporal means which our Lord gives us for the promotion of these new conquests are the plentiful ranches which are already stocked with cattle, sheep, and goats, many droves of mares, horses, sumpters—mules as well as horses—pack animals necessary for transportation and commerce, with very rich and abundant pastures all the year, to raise very fat sheep, producing much tallow, suet, and soap, which already is made in abundance.

CHAPTER III. THAT THE CLIMATE IS VERY GOOD AND RESEMBLES THE BEST IN EUROPE

The climate of most of these lands and new conquests where the promotion of these new conversions is asked, is very good and pleasant, and somewhat similar to that of Mexico and to the best of Europe, with neither too great heat nor too great cold.

CHAPTER IV. THAT THERE ARE MINERAL LANDS

In these new nations and new lands there are many good veins and mineral lands bearing gold and silver; and in the neighborhood and even in sight of these new missions and new conversions some very good new mining camps of very rich silver ore are now being established.

CHAPTER V. THAT THE NATIVES ARE INDUSTRI-
OUS INDIANS AND FRIENDLY PEOPLE

The natives of these new conquests and new nations are industrious Indians, who are docile, affable, and very friendly, and at the same time warlike and valiant, able to defend themselves against their enemies and to fight against our adversaries, the enemies of this province of Sonora, for these our Pimas defend themselves very well, better than any other nation whatsoever, against the warlike Apaches, and their allies, the Hocomes, Janos, etc.; and they continually win very good victories over them, even with notable relief to this province of Sonora, taking away from them at times their prisoners and stolen articles.

CHAPTER VI. THAT THESE NATIVES HAVE FOR
TRADE AND FRIENDLY COMMERCE THEIR FAB-
RICS, FINELY WROUGHT BASKETS, ANTELOPE
SKINS, BUCKSKINS, BEZOAR STONES, ETC.

These natives, particularly those of this extensive Pimeria, have very good fabrics of cotton and of wool; also many nicely made baskets, like hampers, of different sizes, many colored macaw feathers, many deer and buffalo hides, and toward the sea coast much bezoar, and the efficacious *contrayerba*,²⁶⁵ and in many parts the important medicinal fruit called *jojoba*.²⁶⁶

CHAPTER VII. THAT IN THESE COASTS THERE ARE
GOOD SALT BEDS, AND GOOD FISHERIES
CAN BE ESTABLISHED

On this coast of the Sea of California, or Californian Gulf, of these new conquests, we have very good salt

²⁶⁵ *Dorstenia contrayerba*, a medicinal plant.

²⁶⁶ An American fruit "similar to judías [*phaseolus vulgaris*], small and of the color of a chestnut. The inside is white and bitter, but pleasing to the taste. It is used as a digestive" (*Diccionario Salvat*).

beds, of white as well as rock salt; and there are inlets and posts very suitable for fishing for all sorts of very savory fish, shrimps, oysters, etc.

CHAPTER VIII. THAT ALL THE YEAR THE PRINCIPAL NATIVES OF THESE NEW CONQUESTS COME FIFTY, SEVENTY, ONE HUNDRED AND MORE LEAGUES FROM THE INTERIOR TO SEE ME AND TO ASK HOLY BAPTISM AND MISSIONARY FATHERS

All these nations, not only those of this extensive Pimeria, but also those of the neighboring Cocomaricopas, Yumas, Quiquimas, etc., all the year continually come to see me fifty, seventy, one hundred, one hundred and fifty and more leagues from the interior. Others from even more remote parts have sent very friendly messages and gifts, among them blue shells from the opposite coast and South Sea, and they ask me to go to see them and baptize them, and to obtain for them missionary fathers who may go to minister to them.

CHAPTER IX. THAT BESIDES COMING FROM THE INTERIOR THEY SET OUT AND GO TWENTY-FIVE, FIFTY, AND ONE HUNDRED LEAGUES FARTHER OUTSIDE, TO SEE THE FATHER VISITORS AND RECTORS AND ALCALDE MAYORS, AND TO ASK OF THEM MISSIONARY FATHERS

Not only do these natives come so many leagues to this my pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores to ask of me the succor of the missionary fathers whom they need, but as I can not give them and do not obtain them for them, many of the governors, captains, and caciques, after having come from the north, northwest, west, etc., fifty, seventy, one hundred, and more leagues, go and have gone many times to see the father visitors and

father rectors and alcalde mayors and their deputies, to the Valley of Sonora, to the Real de San Juan, and to Oposura.²⁶⁷ Sometimes they have gone to the valley of Santa Maria de Baseraca, which is about one hundred leagues distant from here. Last year²⁶⁸ during the journey and visit of Father Visitor Francisco Maria Piccolo to the Pimeria, more than thirty governors, captains, alcaldes, fiscals, etc., came from the interior, all on horseback. As his Reverence had just set out from this Pimeria, all went, and I with them to overtake his Reverence as far as Cucurpe, where he promised them that the necessary fathers, for whom they very anxiously prayed, should come to them. Up to the present they have not arrived, perhaps because there has not been in Mexico, as had been written me, means with which to equip them; but at present two pious persons offer to send from here the necessary equipment for two or three fathers. May our Lord bring them!

CHAPTER X. THAT THIS SAME PIMA LANGUAGE WHICH WE SPEAK HERE IS CURRENT MORE THAN TWO HUNDRED LEAGUES FARTHER IN THE INTERIOR, EVEN AMONG THE NATIVES OF DIFFERENT NATIONS

Another of the advantages and means which here facilitate the desired service of both Majesties, is the fact that this Pima language which we speak here extends more than two hundred leagues into the interior, even among the other and distinct nations of the Cocomaricopas, Yumas, and Quiquimas, for in all places are found intermingled some natives who speak both languages, that of the nation where they are and our

²⁶⁷ San Juan and Oposura are both on the upper waters of the Yaqui River, southeast of Arizpe.

²⁶⁸ Father Piccolo's visit was in May, 1705. See *ante*, pages 135-137.

Pima tongue, and therefore everywhere we have plenty of good interpreters, both men and women, for the reduction and teaching of all, and to explain to them promptly the Christian doctrine and the mysteries of our holy Catholic faith.

CHAPTER XI. THAT THESE NEW NATIONS HAVE
NO PARTICULAR SECTS OR IDOLATRIES TO
BE ERADICATED

In all these new conquests and new people where we have travelled they have no particular idolatry or doctrine which it will be especially difficult to eradicate, nor polygamy, nor *bonzes* as in Japan and in Great China, and although they greatly venerate the sun as a remarkable thing, with ease one preaches to them, and they comprehend the teaching that God Most High is the All-Powerful and He who created the sun, the moon, and the stars, and all men, and all the world, and all its creatures.

CHAPTER XII. THAT THERE ARE MANY MISSIONS
OR NEW PUEBLOS BEGUN, WITH GOOD BEGINNINGS
IN THE TEACHING OF THE CHRISTIAN DOC-
TRINE AND OF PRAYERS, AND IN THE BUILD-
ING OF CHURCHES AND HOUSES, AND OF
CROPS, AND OF CATTLE

In these new conversions the natives have, even far in the interior, as in the case of Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion del Caborca, forty-six leagues to the westward, in San Ambrosio del Busanic, thirty-seven leagues to the northwest, and in San Francisco Xavier del Bac, sixty leagues to the north, pueblos or missions begun, with good beginnings of instruction in the Christian doctrine and in prayer.²⁶⁹ In these places

²⁶⁹ From this, as from other data, it is inferred that there was now no resident missionary at San Xavier.

there are *temastianes*, or teachers of the doctrine, and many infants and some adults have been baptized. They have their cabildos of justices, governors, captains, alcaldes, fiscales, and their *topiles*, *alguaciles*, etc.²⁷⁰ They have good beginnings of houses for the comfortable living of the fathers whom they hope to receive, and of churches, fields of wheat, maize and beans, cattle, sheep and goats, horses and mules, droves of mares and horses, and beginnings of gardens, all of which the very domestic and loyal natives tend, as if the fathers whom they pray and beg for and hope and deserve to receive were already living there.

CHAPTER XIII. THAT THIS MISSION OF NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS DOLORES IS ACTUALLY GIVING MORE THAN THREE THOUSAND PESOS IN CATTLE, PROVISIONS, VESTMENTS WITH WHICH TO SAY MASS, AND FURNISHINGS OF A HOUSE FOR THE FOUNDING OF THE NEW MISSION OF SANTA MARIA, AND WILL BE ABLE TO GIVE AS MUCH MORE, AND OTHERS MAY DO THE SAME, FOR OTHER FOUNDATIONS

This first mission, or district, or pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, is actually arranging for delivering a decent equipment for founding the new mission of Santa Maria de Bagota,²⁷¹ which is twenty-two leagues from here toward the north, that is, new vestments with which to say mass, three hundred head of cattle for their ranch, one hundred head of sheep and goats, a drove of mares, a drove of horses, a house in which to live, the beginnings of a church, with provisions and the necessary furnishings for a house, and the beginnings of sowing and crops of wheat, maize,

²⁷⁰ An indication that the pueblo organization prescribed by law had spread well beyond the actually occupied frontier.

²⁷¹ Bugota.

etc. Almost as much was given, to the value of three thousand pesos, from the stock of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, a few years ago, for the founding and equipment of the mission of San Ygnacio; and other like aid this and other missions of these new conquests and new conversions will be able to give in time.

CHAPTER XIV. THAT ALREADY DIFFERENT BENEFACTORS, MISSIONARY FATHERS AND SECULARS, OFFER VARIOUS GIFTS OF CATTLE, PROVISIONS, CLOTHING, AND SOME SILVER, WHICH ALL AMOUNTS TO MORE THAN TWENTY THOUSAND PESOS, FOR THE NEW MISSIONS WHICH MAY BE FOUNDED

The promotion of these new conversions and the service of both Majesties which is hoped for in them is greatly facilitated by the fact that different benefactors, missionary fathers of the old missions of the Company of Jesus, as well as secular gentlemen, promise very good aid in the form of cattle, sheep and goats, horses, clothing, fabrics or garments, provisions, and some silver, to aid the new missionary fathers who may come to these new conversions to found new missions, for their churches and houses, the value already amounting to more than twenty thousand pesos. One person alone offers five thousand in suitable goods, with some silver, for the founding and for the church, house, and fortification of the settlement or great mission of Santa Ana de Quibori, where Captain Coro lives; because it is notorious that those his natives will be able to continue to pursue the neighboring avowed enemies, the Hocomes, Janos, and Apaches, for the very great and total relief, or remedy, of all this province of Sonora.

CHAPTER XV. THAT THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS SEÑOR BISHOP OF THIS PROVINCE OF THE KINGDOM OF NUEVA VISCAIA AND OF SONORA OFFERS TO SEEK AND OBTAIN ALMS FOR SOME LABORERS IN THESE NEW MISSIONS

Now, in addition, at the very same time that this brief report is asked of me and I am writing it, the Señor commissary curate and vicar of the Real de San Juan, Don Antonio de Zalsar, writes me that his Illustriousness, the Most Pious Prince of the church, the Señor Doctor Don Ygnacio Dias de la Barrera, most meritorious Bishop of the city of Durango and of all these provinces, has said to his Grace in the city of Guadiana, Durango,²⁷² within the past few months, that he is possessed of a very Catholic and most zealous and holy determination to seek, although it may be by alms, the necessary aid and equipment for some missionary fathers to live in and administer these new conquests and conversions. These, then, are the opportune means which our Lord offers us to enable us to accomplish a great service for both Majesties and the eternal salvation of very many souls in all this most extensive North America.

²⁷² Pimería Alta was under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Durango at the time.

CHAPTER XVI. EPILOGUE, VERY SUITABLE, AND SO MUCH THE MORE SO BECAUSE UNLOOKED FOR, IN REGARD TO THE ABOVE MENTIONED MEANS, AS WELL AS IN REGARD TO THE SUBJECT MATTER OF ALL THIS REPORT OR RELATION, FOR WHICH PRAYS OUR NEW FATHER-GENERAL, MIGUEL ANGEL TAMBURINI²⁷³ IN THE NEW LETTER WHICH HAS JUST ARRIVED FROM ROME, AT THESE NEW CONVERSIONS

More than three years ago, by order of our father general, Thirso Gonzales, God rest his soul, I sent to Rome a relation of the state of these new conversions, which was altogether very conformable to and uniform with a relation which Father Visitor Orasio Polise had also made, and which Father Rector Juan Maria de Salvatierra had seen, subscribed to, and approved. And now, in the most courteous, holy letter, which, having just written this present report, I have just received from our new father general, Miguel Angel Tamburini, his Reverence writes me, very much to our purpose, the following:

LETTER OF OUR FATHER GENERAL MIGUEL ANGEL Tamburini. I received with special pleasure two letters from your Reverence, dated January 24 and June 30, 1704. With them comes what your Reverence calls a dedication for the treatise which is being perfected with the title of "Celestial Favors Experienced in the New Conquests and New Conversions of North America." In the letters as well as in the draft of the dedication, which contains the notices of the new discoveries and of their state, I find much wherein to praise the mercies of God in those nations which are being discovered and brought to his knowledge; and our Company owes special thanks to His Divine Majesty, because He uses her sons as an instrument so greatly to His glory.

²⁷³ Father Michele Angelo Tamburini was general of the Society of Jesus from 1706 to 1730. See volume i, 92, *footnote* 75.

Very much do I rejoice at the aid which your Reverence has sent and is arranging to send every year to the Californias, and at the two churches which you have built and dedicated, and which have become among the best there are in the province; and that you are continuing your treatise on those missions with the title of *Celestial Favors*, of which you have sent us hither the first part. I am hoping for the other two which your Reverence promises, and that they all may be approved in Mexico, that they may be published. All the notices which your Reverence gives me fill me with joy, and with a desire to repay the anxieties and glorious travails of your Reverence and of your companions; but just as you have opposition there, we here regret that the war, lack of communication, and perils of the seas keep our missionaries detained. But we all hope, with great confidence in the loving providence of God, that, since in these very contrary times He has willed to discover those new nations and to show us so many souls who wander scattered outside of His fold, it is not that we may see them perish, but to give us means and forces to bring them from their forests and reduce them to pueblos and churches. Therefore I pray His Divine Majesty to guard your Reverence many years, as I desire.

Your Reverence's servant in Christ,

MIGUEL ANGEL TAMBURINI.

Rome, Sept. 5, 1705.

*Omnia ad maiorem Dei Deipar[ae]que Virginis
Mariæ honorem et gloriam et animarum gentiumque
salutem.*²⁷⁴

²⁷⁴ "All things for the greater honor and glory of God and of the Virgin Mary, Mother of God, and for the salvation of souls and of the Gentiles."

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KINO, EUSEBIO FRANCISCO. Delineacion de la Nueva Provincia de S. Andres del Puerto de la Paz, y de las Islas circumvecinas de las Californias, ó Carolinas, que al Excell^{mo} Señor D. Thomas Antonio Lorenzo Manuel Manrique de la Zerdà, Enriquez Afan de Ribera, Porto Carrero y Cardenas, Conde de Paredas, Marques de la Laguna Comendador de la Moraleja en la Orden y Cavalleria de Alcantara del Consejo de su Magestad, Camara y Junta de Guerra de Indias su Virrey, Lugar Teniente, Governador, y Capitan General de la Nueva España y Presidente de la R¹ Audiencia y Chanzellaria della, Dedicar y consagra la Mission de la Comp^a de Jesu de dichas Californias ó Carolinas en 21 de Dic: dia del Glorioso Apostol de las Indias S. Thomas, de 1683 años.

— Description De La Fortificacion y R¹ De S. Bruno De Californias. 1683 (?).

— and P. M. Goñi. Testimonio de la Posesión tomada. Puerto de Nuestra Señora de la Paz, April 5, 1683. By Eusebio Francisco Quino and Pedro Mathias Goñi. Signed by these and witnessed by Francisco de Pereda y Arze, Matheo Andrés, Martin de Verastégui. A.G.I., 67-4-2. In *Sobre pertenencia*, 110-111.

— Carta, to the viceroy. San Bruno, Dec. 6, 1684. A.G.I., 1-1-3/21. In *El Virrey de la Nueva España da Cuenta*, etc., 21-22.

— Carta, to the viceroy, (San Bruno, Dec. 8 [?] 1684). A.G.I. 1-1-2/31. In *El Virrey de la Nueva España da cuenta*, Pliegos 11-12.

PAREDES, VICEROY CONDE DE. El Virrey de la Nueva España da cuenta a Vuestra Magestad con testimonio de Autos y Mapas que remite, de los Parages que ha descubierto en las yslas Californias, el Almirante Don Ysidro de Atondo, y en los que se ha fortificado, y los Socorros y medios de Real Hacienda con que se le ha asistido para este efecto, y para la ultima entrada que esta para ejecutar en dichas Yslas (Mexico, March 26, 1685). A.G.I. 1-1-2/31. Transcript in the Bancroft Library. 141 hand written pages.

Contains: report of the viceroy to the king, March 26, 1685, and "Autos sobre los Parages que ha descubierto en las Yslas Californias el Almirante Don Ysidro de Atondo; y la ultima entrada que esta para ejecutar en ellas; y los Socorros que para ella se le han hecho de Real Hacienda, conforme Ordenes de su Magstad." This consists of autos and correspondence concerning the occupation of California, 1683-1685. Including two hitherto unknown letters by Kino.

KINO, EUSEBIO FRANCISCO. Letter to the bishop of Guadalajara, Torin, May 30, 1685. A.G.I. 67-3-28.

Included in No. 30. Transcript in Bancroft Library, 6 pages typed.

PAREDES, VICEROY CONDE DE. Carta del Conde de Paredes a Su Magestad: El Virrey de la Nueva España da quenta a Vuestra Magestad de la Vltima entrada que hizo en las yslas Californias el Almirante don Ysidro de Atondo: y por lo que de ella resulto ha declarado se mantengan los dos Puertos descubiertos del Rio Grande y Real de San Bruno con dos Religiosos misioneros y veinte soldados con el sueldo y vastimento nezesario para su sustento ynterin que con vista de los autos que remito manda Vuestra Magestad lo que fuere de su mayor agrado. Mexico, Sept. 3, 1685. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 4 typewritten pages.

GOÑES (GOÑI) PEDRO MATIAS. To the Archbishop of Guadalajara. Puerto de San Ygnacio, Sinaloa, Sept. 22, 1685. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Included in No. 30. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 3 typewritten pages.

KINO, EUSEBIO FRANCISCO. To the Bishop of Guadalajara. Colegio de Guadaluaxara, Oct. 10, 1685. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Included in No. 30. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 13 typewritten pages.

— To the Bishop of Guadalajara. Compostela, Nov. 5, 1685. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 1 typewritten page.

— To the Bishop of Guadalajara. Matanchel, November 15, 1685. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Included in No. 30. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 6 typewritten pages.

— To the Bishop of Guadalajara. On board the *Almiranta*, Dec. 2, 1685. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Included in No. 30. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 1 type-written page.

REAL CÉDULA. Madrid, Dec. 22, 1685. Al Virrey de la Nueva España, en respuesta de su carta de 28 de Marzo de este año, sobre la sublevazion de los Yndios de la Nueva Vizcaya. Consultada. A.G.I. 67-3-28. In *El Obispo de Guadalajara hace . . . informe*. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 7 pages typed.

Orders that for the present California be not reoccupied on account of troubles in Nueva Vizcaya.

KINO, EUSIBIO FRANCISCO. To the Bishop of Guadalajara. Casa Profesa, Mexico, Feb. 15, 1686. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Included in

- No. 30. Transcript in the Bancroft Library. 29 typewritten pages.
- ATONDO Y ANTILLÓN, YSIDRO, to the Archbishop of Guadalajara, Mexico, Feb. 16, 1686. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Included in No. 30. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 2 pages.
- BISHOP OF GUADALAJARA. No. 30. El Obispo da cuenta del estado en que esta la conquista y comvercion de las Yslas Californias despues de hauer buelto las Naos que fueron a hazerla, las quales tienen orden de no volver a continuarla, y pondera la lastima y quebranto que a ocasionado hauer quedado tanta multitud de Almas clamando por el Baptismo y añade en una posdata tenia noticia de Mexico de hauer determinado el Señor Virrey se buelua a la conquista y haga un Presidio. With related correspondence. Guadalajara. March 10, 1686. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 39 pages typed.
- REAL CÉDULA addressed to Audiencia de Guadalajara. Buen Retiro, May 14, 1686. Concerning encouragement of conversions. A.G.I. 67-1-36. Transcript in Bancroft Library, 3 pages typed.
- AUTO Y OBEDECEMTO. Guadalajara, Sept. 27, 1686. In response to cédula of May 14, 1686. A.G.I. 67-1-36. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 1 page typed.
- AZCÁRASSO, FRAY JOSEPH, Provincial of the Province of Santiago de Jalisco, Respuesta to real cédula of May 14, 1686. Guadalajara, Oct. 9, 1686. A.G.I. 67-1-36. Transcript in Bancroft Library, 6 pages typed.
- Replies that the province lacks missionaries. Gives general view of Missions in Coahuila and Nayarit.
- KINO, EUSEBIO FRANCISCO. "Misionero nombrado para la reduccion de gentiles, y conversion a nuestra Sancta fe de los Seris, Huaymas, y Pimas en la provinzia de Sonora, Reyno de la nueva Vizcaya." Petition asking prohibition of taking Indians with seal to work in mines from his prospective missions. Guadalajara, Dec. 16, 1686. A.G.I. 67-1-36. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 2 pages typed.
- AUDIENCIA DE GUADALAJARA. Auto, granting Kino's petition. Guadalajara, Dec. 16, 1686. A.G.I. 67-1-36. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 2 pages typed.
- PALMA Y MESA, LIC. DON XPTOUAL DE. Respuesta fiscal, concerning Kino's petition. Guadalajara, Dec. 16, 1686. A.G.I. 67-1-36. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 1 page typed.

AUDIENCIA DE GUADALAJARA. Guadalajara, July 23, 1687. Da cuenta de los diligencias fechas en virtud de la Real Zedula de catorce de Maio de el año proximo passado de ochenta y seis sobre el fomento de las misiones y combersiones nuevas de los indios; e Ynforma a pedimento de la sancta provincia de Xalisco del Seraphico Padre San Francisco sobre diferentes puntos. A.G.I. 67-1-36. With *testimonio de diligencias*. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 23 pages typed.

VICEROY JOSEPH SARMIENTO. El Virey Don Joseph Sarmiento Da cuenta de la entrada que ha hecho a las Islas Californias el Padre Juan Maria de Salbatierra de la Compañia de Jesus, los buenos efectos que van resultando y lo que propone sobre la continuacion de esta conquista y sera bien se lea esta carta, Mexico, May 5, 1698. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 4 pages typed.

EXPEDIENTE concerning Carrasco's expedition to the Gila River with Kino in 1698. May, 1698-Oct. 1699. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in the Bancroft Library. 33 pages typed.

XIRONZA PETRIZ DE CRUZATTE, DOMINGO. Letter to the Viceroy, San Juan Baptista, Sonora, May 16, 1698. A.G.I. 67-3-28. In *Expediente concerning Carrasco's Expedition*.

— Instructions to Captain Diego Carrasco. San Juan Baptista, Sonora, Sept. 15, 1698. A.G.I. 67-3-28. In *Expediente concerning Carrasco's expedition*.

KINO, EUSEBIO FRANCISCO. Relacion Diaria de la entrada al Nor-tueste que fue de Yda y Buelta mas de 300 leguas desde 21 de setiembre hasta 18 de otubre de 1698: Descubrimiento del desemboque del rio grande hala Mar de la California y del Puerto de Sa. Clara. Reduction de mas de 4000 almas de la Costa Bautismos de mas de 400 Parbulos, 1698. Con Enseñanzas y Experiencias [Annotation]: "Esta relacion es del Pe. Franco. Eusebio Kino de que doy fee. Gaspar Stiger. Av. de estas misiones." A.G.M. Historia, vol. 393. Transcript from original in Bolton Collection. 38 pages typed.

CARRASCO, CAPTAIN DIEGO. Diario fecho por el Capitan Diego Carrasco Theniente de Alcalde Mayor y Capitan a Guerra de todos los Pueblos y Rancherías de la Nacion Pima y sus distritos y Jurisdiccion por Su Magestad que en virtud de orden que va yncerta del General Don Domingo Gironza Petriza de Cruzat,

Alcalde mayor desta prouincia y Gouernacion de las armas de ella por su Magestad, me pusse a hazer desde el dia veinte y dos de septiembre hasta el dia diez y ocho de octubre de el año de mill seiscientos y noventa y ocho para el descubrimiento del desemboque del Rio grande a la Mar de la California y puerto de Santa Clara con todo lo acaecido en dicho viaje que su thenor es como se sigue. Sept. 22-Oct. 18, 1698. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library, 19 pages typed. In *Expediente concerning Carrasco's expedition*.

— Carta del señor Theniente de la Pimeria Diego Carrasco al Señor General Don Domingo Gironza Petriz de Cruzat de la entrada al Norueste mill seiscientos y Noventa ocho. Dolores, Oct. 18, 1698. A.G.I. 67-3-28. In *Expediente concerning Carrasco's expedition*.

XIRONZA PETRIZ DE CRUZATTE, DOMINGO. Letter to Viceroy. Reporting Carrasco's expedition. San Juan Baptista, Sonora, March 8, 1699. A.G.I. 67-3-28. In *Expediente concerning Carrasco's expedition*.

TESTIMONIO de los Autos hechos sobre el descubrimiento, conquista y reduccion de las Californias en que esta entendiendo el Padre Juan Maria de Salvatierra a costa de la limosna de los fieles. Mexico, May 29, 1699. A.G.I. 67-3-28. 18 pages typed.

Contains letters of Palacios, decrees regarding funds, letters of Salvatierra, Ugarte, etc.

VICEROY JOSEPH SARMIENTO. El Virrey Don Joseph Sarmiento. Remite el testimonio adjunto de los felizes progresos que van resultando, y que ha conseguido con sus asistencias en las Yslas de Californias el Padre Juan Maria de Salvatierra de la compañía de Jesus y lo que por su parte le ha favorecido para esta conquista. México, May 29, 1699, with action of Council. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library. In all 20 pages typed.

SOLÍS MIRANDA, MARTÍN DE. Opinion relative to viceroy's letter of May 5, 1698 regarding California missions. Madrid, June 14, 1699. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 8 pages typed.

TOBAR, LIC. DON BALTHAZAR DE. Respuesta fiscal, concerning Carrasco's expedition. Mexico, Oct. 16, 1699. A.G.I. 67-3-28. In *Expediente concerning Carrasco's expedition*.

VICEROY JOSEPH SARMIENTO. No. 1. El Virrey de la Nueva España pone en la Real noticia de Vuestra Magestad haverse con-

tinuado subcesibos los favorables avisos de los progresos y buenos efectos de la reduzion de gentiles en las Yslas Californias en el servicio de Dios y Agrado de Vuestra Magestad y que sera propio de su Real piedad, se asista a los religiosos con alguna ayuda de costa de Real Hazienda en la forma que propone. Mexico, Oct. 20, 1699. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 4 pages typed.

ROLÁNDEGUI, BERNARDO. Memorial to the King concerning California. No date. Considered in Council May 29, 1701. Acordado, July 4, 1701. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library, 4 pages typed.

COUNCIL OF THE INDIES. Acuerdo de Consulta. Concerning California Pious Fund. Madrid, July 4, 1701. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 3 pages typed.

CONSEJO DE YNDIAS a 9 de Jullio de 1701. Representa a V. Mgd. lo que ha pasado en la conquista, poblazion y reduzion de las Californias desde su principio: providenzias que combendra se den para acalorar a los Religiosos de la Compañia que se han encargado de esta empresa y la tienen muy adelantada. Madrid, July 9, 1701. A.G. de I. 67-1-37. Transcript in Bancroft Library, 11 pages typed.

BISHOP-ELECT OF MICHOACÁN. El Obispo Electo de Valladolid de Michoacan informa a Vuestra Magestad, los inconvenientes que tendra que la Relegion de la Compania de Jesus deje las Misiones que administran en el Obispado de la Nueva Viscapa, y suplica se lea todo. Valladolid de Michoacán, July 17, 1701. A.G.I. 67-3-28. In *El Obispo de Guadalajara hace informe*. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 6 pages typed.

REAL CÉDULA. Madrid, July 17, 1701. To Bishop of Guadalajara, granting 6,000 pesos a year to the California Missions. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 3 pages typed.

RIEZA, FRANCISCO DOMINGUEZ, Mayor of the Audiencia Real of Nueva Galicia. Certificate asking for report on California. Guadalajara, Dec. 2, 1701. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library, 3 pages typed.

ROLÁNDEGUI, BERNARDO. Memorial to the King concerning California, in 5 points. After July 17, 1701. Answered 6 Dec., 1701. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 3 pages typed.

KINO, EUSEBIO FRANCISCO. Paso por Tierra a la California y sus confinantes nuevas Naciones, y Misiones Nuevas de la Compañia

de J.H.S. en la America Septêntional Descubierto, andado, y demarcado por el Padre Eusebio Francisco Kino Jesuita, desde el año 1698, hasta el de 1701. Año de 1701.

Ms. map in the Archivo General de Indias, 67-3-29 (Torres-Lanzas, no. 95). Clearly a draft of a much later date. Reproduced here volume 1, page 331. Sommervogel (*Bibliothèque*, vol. iv, 1044-1045) lists a copy of Kino's original map in the École de Ste. Geneviève, Paris.

EXPEDIENTE concerning the Pious Fund of California, 1701-1704.

A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in the Bancroft Library. 212 pages typed.

PICOLO, FRANCISCO MARIA. Informe de Francisco Maria Picolo á S.M. Guadalajara, Feb. 10, 1702. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 20 pages typed.

ESPINOSA, DOCTOR JOSEPH ANTONIO DE. El fiscal Doctor Espinosa á S.M. Acompaña copia de un informe: El Fiscal Doctor Espinosa representa a Vuestra Magestad el estado de las Misiones nuebamente introducidas en la California por los Jesuitas, y lo determinado en cumplimiento de la Real cédula de Vuestra Magestad de diez y siete de Julio del año passado, que pide se lea a la letra. Mexico, May 16, 1702. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 9 pages typed.

COUNCIL OF THE INDIES. Acuerdo, Madrid, June 2, 1703. Replying to the four points of one of the memorials of Father Rolándegui. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in the Bancroft Library. 4 pages typed.

ESPINOSA, DR. JOSEPH ANTONIO DE. Dictamen fiscal. Mexico, Apr. 18, 1704. Concerning fulfillment of the cédula of 28 Sept. 1703, regarding California missions. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in the Bancroft Library. 4 pages typed. Transmitted Oct. 9, 1704.

VICEROY OF MEXICO, DUQUE DE ALBURQUERQUE. No. 46. Carta del Duque de Alburquerque á Su Magestad. El Virrey de Nueva España da quenta a Vuestra Magestad de quedar esperando al Padre Juan Maria de Salvatierra misionero de las Californias para conferencias con el sobre la practica de los puntos que yncluye la orden de Vuestra Magestad de 28 de septiembre de 1703 sobre su conquista y reduccion y demas que se expresa en ella de cuya resultado ofrece dar quenta en primera ocasion Y remite testimonio de todo lo actuado en esta materia. Mexico, Sept. 24, 1704.

A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 5 pages typed.

CAVALLERO Y OZÍO, JUAN. Don Juan Cavallero y Ozio Avisa el

recivo de Vna cedula de 28 de Settiembre de 1703 en que se le manifiesta la gratitud de Su Magestad por haver dotado 20,000 pesos, etc. Querétaro, Oct. 8, 1704. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 2 pages typed.

ESPINOSA, DR. JOSEPH ANTONIO DE. El fiscal Don Joseph Antonio de Espinosa acompaña copia de la respuesta fiscal que dio en razon de lo ejecutado en virtud de zedula de 28 de Septiembre de 1703 sobre que pidiese cumplimiento de las providencias de las Misiones de las Californias de qual combendra se lea a la letra para su comprehencion. With dictamen of April 18, 1704. Mexico, Oct. 9, 1704. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 7 pages typed.

VICEROY OF MEXICO, DUQUE DE ALBURQUERQUE. Carta del Duque de Alburquerque a S.M. El Virrey de Nueva España da cuenta a V.M. con testimonio de lo resuelto en Junta general en orden a no inovar en las dependencias de Californias hasta que V.M. en vista de los autos que remite con carta de 23 de Marzo determine lo que fuere servido. With *Dictamen fiscal*, Apr. 16, 1708. Mexico, Oct. 7, 1706. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 5 pages typed.

VELARDE, LUIS. Descripción de la Pimería. Contained in the item next below, of which it constitutes chapter 9.

MANGE, JUAN MATHEO. Lybro Segvndo Luz de Tierra Yncognita en la America Septentrional de todos los Viajes de tierras Rios y Naciones que Descubrieron Varios Padres de la Compa. de Jesus con el Capn. Juan Matheo Mange Autor de la Presente obra; y Anuales Muertes Rovos, e Yncendios q los Yndios enemigos executaron en la Prova. de Sonora, Castigos q se les hizo en los 7 primeros años q Govno. el Genl. D Domingo Jironza la Compa. Volante q doto su Magd. pa. su defensa desde fines del Año de 1693 hasta el de 1721. Original in Archivo General, Mexico. Historia, vol. 392. Covers 1694-1721. Transcript in Bolton Collection, 175 pages typed.

My references to this work are to the Ms. copy in the Bolton Collection.

SOBRE PERTENENCIA del Gobierno Espiritual de Californias. Vino con carta del Cavildo Eclesiástico de Guadalajara de 18 de marzo de 1724. Covers 1634-1724. A.G.I. 67-4-2.

Transcript in the Bancroft Library. 112 pages typed.

Contains transcripts of documents to show that California was within the diocese of Guadalajara. Begins with "Titulo al Padre Diego de

Nava Clérigo, de Cura de los descubrimientos de las islas Marias y Californias, y de Vicario Juez Eclesiástico." Controversy between bishops of Guadalajara and Durango over this matter, 1681; incidentally, documents concerning the Piñadero, Atondo, and other expeditions to California; Commission to Kino and his companions as *Cura* and *juez-vicario* of California.

BISHOP OF GUADALAJARA. El Obispo de Guadalajara hace a Vuestra Magestad el informe que por Vna Real Cédula se le manda sobre la pertenencia del gobierno espiritual de las Islas Californias. Guadalaxara, June 1, 1727. With docs. covering the period 1685-1727. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library, 16 pages typed.

FIGUEROA, FRANCISCO, compiler. Memorias para la Historia de Nueva España (compiled in Mexico, 1792), 32 vols.

A nearly complete copy is in the Bancroft Library.

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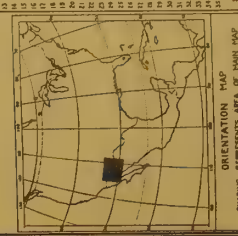


MAP OF PIMERIA ALTA 1687 - 1711

COMPILED BY HERBERT EUGENE BOLTON

SCALE IN MILES
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1918

- ### LEGEND
- MISSIONS
 - PRESIDIOS
 - INDIAN VILLAGES
 - INDIAN PLACES
 - INDIAN TOWNS
 - INDIAN TRAILS
 - INDIAN RANGES
 - INDIAN MOUNTAINS
 - INDIAN RIVERS
 - INDIAN LAKES
 - INDIAN CITIES
 - INDIAN CASTLES
 - INDIAN FORTS
 - INDIAN BARRIERS
 - INDIAN WALLS
 - INDIAN FENCES
 - INDIAN GATES
 - INDIAN DOORS
 - INDIAN WINDOWS
 - INDIAN ROOFS
 - INDIAN FLOORS
 - INDIAN CEILINGS
 - INDIAN WALLS
 - INDIAN FENCES
 - INDIAN GATES
 - INDIAN DOORS
 - INDIAN WINDOWS
 - INDIAN ROOFS
 - INDIAN FLOORS
 - INDIAN CEILINGS
- ### PRINCIPAL EXPEDITIONS OF FATHER KING AND ASSOCIATES
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 24. King and Geronimo, 1710 (with Geronimo, Baez, and Aguilar)
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